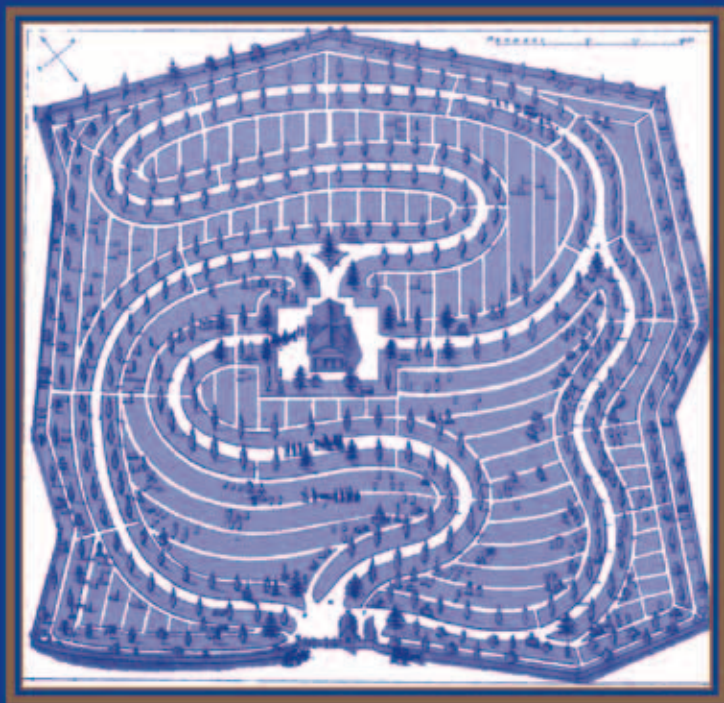


THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



The Loudons and the Gardening Press

A Victorian Cultural Industry



SARAH DEWIS

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THE LOUDONS AND THE GARDENING PRESS

Through close readings of individual serials and books and archival work on the publication history of the *Gardener's Magazine* (1826-44) Sarah Dewis examines the significant contributions John and Jane Webb Loudon made to the gardening press and democratic discourse. Vilified during their lifetimes by some sections of the press, the Loudons were key players in the democratization of print media and the development of the printed image. Both offered women readers a cultural alternative to the predominantly literary and classical culture of the educated English elite. In addition, they were innovatory in emphasizing the value of scientific knowledge and the acquisition of taste as a means of eroding class difference. As well as the *Gardener's Magazine*, Dewis focuses on the lavish eight-volume *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum* (1838), an encyclopaedia of trees and shrubs, and *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries* (1843), arguing that John Loudon was a radical activist who reconfigured gardens in the public sphere as a landscape of enlightenment and as a means of social cohesion. Her book is important in placing the Loudons' publications in the context of the history of the book, media history, garden history, urban social history, history of education, nineteenth-century radicalism and women's journalism.

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Vincent Newey
Joanne Shattock
University of Leicester

The Loudons and the Gardening Press

A Victorian Cultural Industry

SARAH DEWIS
British Library, UK

ASHGATE

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Sarah Dewis, March 2013

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List of Abbreviations

<i>AFB</i>	<i>Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum</i>
<i>BG</i>	<i>Botanic Garden</i>
<i>BM</i>	<i>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</i>
<i>BMFG</i>	<i>Botanical Magazine; or Flower-Garden Displayed</i>
<i>C&C</i>	<i>Cemeteries and Churchyards</i>
<i>DNCJ</i>	<i>Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism</i>
<i>ECJ</i>	<i>Eliza Cook's Journal</i>
<i>EDM</i>	<i>Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine</i>
<i>Ency. Gdng</i>	<i>An Encyclopaedia of Gardening; Comprising the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture, Landscape Gardening &c</i>
<i>EWJ</i>	<i>English Woman's Journal</i>
<i>FCFM</i>	<i>Floricultural Cabinet and Florist's Magazine</i>
<i>GH</i>	<i>Garden History</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>The Gardener's Magazine, and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement</i>
<i>HC</i>	<i>Home Circle</i>
<i>HJFR</i>	<i>Horticultural Journal and Florists' Register</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>Horticultural Register</i>
<i>JVC</i>	<i>Journal of Victorian Culture</i>
<i>LC</i>	<i>Ladies' Cabinet</i>
<i>LCHA</i>	<i>Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad</i>
<i>LFG</i>	<i>Ladies' Flower-Garden</i>
<i>LMG</i>	<i>Ladies' Magazine of Gardening</i>
<i>LWR</i>	<i>London and Westminster Review</i>
<i>MBG</i>	<i>Magazine of Botany and Gardening</i>
<i>MDE</i>	<i>Magazine of Domestic Economy</i>
<i>MeM</i>	<i>Mechanics' Magazine</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Monthly Magazine</i>

<i>NHM</i>	<i>Natural History Magazine</i>
<i>NMBA</i>	<i>New Monthly Belle Assemblée</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>PH</i>	<i>Publishing History</i>
<i>PM</i>	<i>Penny Magazine</i>
<i>QR</i>	<i>Quarterly Review</i>
<i>SG</i>	<i>Suburban Gardener</i>
<i>SOED</i>	<i>Shorter Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>VPR</i>	<i>Victorian Periodicals Review</i>
<i>WR</i>	<i>Westminster Review</i>

Introduction

A ‘wretched ignoramus’ and ‘lying old woman’ – just two of the comments made by certain sections of the press about John Claudius Loudon (1783–1843) and his wife, Jane Webb Loudon (1807–58). This book is a multidisciplinary study of publications by the Loudons in the second quarter of the nineteenth century – a period which saw profound changes in the technology of print and its commercial practice alongside social and political change.

Through close readings of individual serials and books, the aim has been to elucidate significant contributions made by the Loudons to gardening and democratic discourse, and to notions of the public and private spheres. Research into the state of periodical publication in the period 1825–50 is balanced by the positioning of the Loudons’ work in the context of the social and intellectual history of the period. This book demonstrates the relevance of the Loudons’ publications to a confluence of Victorian themes, including politics, gender, the press, science, religion – education, leisure, gardening and death; also, the art of drawing, landscape in the novel and poetry – and business and the family.

Illustrations are an essential element of this book. The methods of production used to create images played a part in the meanings they had for their audience. They affected the price of publication in which the image was printed, the context in which it might be read or seen and who might view or read it, as Brain Maidment, Martina Lauster and Gerry Beegan,¹ have shown.¹ Wood engravings, which integrated text with image, were initially favoured by John Loudon, as I demonstrate in Chapter 3; they characterised Jane Webb Loudon’s cheaper publications seen in Chapter 6. In Chapter 4 I suggest that John Loudon’s engagement with lithography had mixed results. The development of the printed image in both the Loudons’ publications, anticipated, and was part of, a wider trend in the increase in production of illustrated publications.

Print culture was moving from a cottage industry towards mass production during the period in which the Loudons’ publications appeared. Their output was on a small scale, but their practices – the dissemination of knowledge in multiple forms, as numbers, pamphlets and different book formats – were similar to those of major publishers. I argue that the serial nature of the Loudons’ contribution and its discourse of inclusion was part of the democratisation of the print media. The practice of the ‘numbers trade’ which had once been despised by ‘superior’ publishers was used by the Loudons to great effect. The majority of their number

¹ Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints, 1790–1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century: European Journalism and Its Physiologies, 1830–50* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

or serial publications, however, have been preserved in libraries in volume form, in which they are bound without wrappers. In many cases evidence of the original date of issue has disappeared and their periodical identity diminished. The loss, for example, of adverts on the wrappers in the bound volumes has severed their links with commerce.

The *Gardener's Magazine* (1826–44), the focus of Chapter 2, was the first of the periodicals established by John Loudon, and the first in Britain to combine the science and the design of gardens. Although the collaborative model for periodical production is generally favoured by recent studies, I have opted for the singular model of the individual editor, given John Loudon's role as proprietor, editor, contributor and finally as publisher of the journal. I follow the approach suggested by David Finkelstein and Robert L. Patten in their essay 'Editing Blackwood's; or, What Do Editors Do?' (2006), that the diverse responsibilities of editors for the content and aesthetics of their journals, related commercial transactions and ideas about their intended publics shaped their periodicals for the market place. At the same time, John Loudon's calls for contributions from readers and his policy of naming contributors exemplify his openness to collaborators. As I document in Chapters 5 and 6, the significant contribution made by John Loudon's family, his sisters Jane and Mary Loudon, as well as Jane Webb Loudon, when the 'Book Manufactory of Bayswater' was threatened with collapse, also highlights the extent to which a periodical depended on teamwork.

I suggest in Chapter 1 that the radical origins of the *Magazine* are set out by John Loudon in his entry 'On the Education of Gardeners' in the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1822), the first of his encyclopaedias. Derived from ideas of the Enlightenment, Presbyterianism and utilitarianism, he refigures the gardener as a secular saint at the centre of the revolution in industry and agriculture. The hostility the encyclopaedia entry provoked illustrates the competing cultural claims between the Tory and Liberal press about the status of gardeners and working men in general. Nineteenth-century themes of politics, science, religion and the place of landscape in poetry converge in this chapter.

Different approaches to periodical production have been outlined by recent studies. I would argue, however, that developments of Habermas's broad concept of the periodical as emanating from the 'golden age' of an enlightened public sphere, part of his construction of a series of epochs in the development of the press and its relationship to its readers in the *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), have current relevance. The idea, for example, of multiple public spheres that sometimes compete and overlap is useful in relation to the *Gardener's Magazine*, and the Loudons' publications in general, as their publics (which existed at the point where imagined and actual readers met) were more divided and diverse than the singular 'public sphere' might suggest. I suggest in Chapter 3 that the diversity of the audience of the *Gardener's Magazine* is clearly signalled by the heterogeneity of the images it contains.

The meanings of texts derive from their treatment as material objects and in relation to their roles in society as Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell have argued

in *Encounters in the Victorian Press* (2005). This book examines the place of cultural and social factors in the production methods, distribution strategies and spaces of reception of the Loudons' work.² The periodical form of the *Gardener's Magazine*, for example, was not cheap, partly because it was illustrated, but it had a wider means of distribution than its price might imply. Moreover, I suggest that it was effective in developing a sense of nationhood across time and space, through interaction between its imagined community of readers and its ideas about British society.

In Chapter 4 I extend this argument to include two other publications that addressed different audiences: firstly, the eight-volume *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum* (1838), and secondly, the compact and more controversial *Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and Churchyards* (1843). The former is an encyclopaedia of trees and shrubs published in 63 parts over a three-and-a-half-year period, while the latter was the result of a commission to design a cemetery for the Cambridge Cemetery Company. In the 1830s when botanical categories were up for debate alongside scientific developments in geology and physiology, the *Arboretum* is an ambitious classification of trees and shrubs cultivated in Britain. Their place, however, in myth and history, and in the imagination of readers, is accorded the same importance by John Loudon as their scientific description and their practical applications. In the early 1840s, the journey of the dead to the burial ground, the location of the ground itself and the disposal of the dead were the subject of fierce disputes in which the different interests of the Anglican Church, the state, the wealthy and the poor were being contested or staked out. I suggest that by means of picture and print, and in the face of strong opposition, John Loudon, the radical activist, reconfigures gardens in the public sphere as a landscape of enlightenment and as a means of social cohesion. Both publications resonate with Victorian concerns about science, religion, politics, death, gender, education, landscape in the novel and the art of drawing.

Through their publications John and Jane Webb Loudon offered women readers a cultural alternative to the predominantly literary and classical culture of the educated English elite. As I suggest in the first chapter, the emphasis on the value of scientific knowledge made by John Loudon partly derived from his attendance at the University of Edinburgh and his association with radicals such as Jeremy Bentham in and round the University of London. In Chapter 6 I argue that Webb Loudon's experience as John Loudon's amanuensis and her attendance at the London Horticultural Society for the botanical lectures of John Lindley (the first professor of botany at London University) enabled her to disseminate the science of the garden through publications for women. The Loudons' publications, generally, were part of a wider trend in science publishing. The crash in the book trade of 1825–26 has been described as a turning point: however, as James Secord in *Victorian Sensation* (2000) has observed, while a number of firms collapsed,

² See David Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), p. 16.

the number of titles published quickly recovered, amongst which were cheap nonfiction series that included new scientific works. The Loudons' body of work, although not the cheapest, might be seen as part of 'a remarkable series of publishing experiments [which took place] during the next decade'.³

Similar in importance to science for the Loudons was the acquisition of taste. John Loudon saw it as a means to augment the social status and power of the less wealthy, including women. This idea, seen to benefit society as a whole, was also central to the garden publications of Jane Webb Loudon, who made it explicit during her brief editorship of a weekly paper for women. The editorial management and published works of both writers gave voice and helped to shape an audience whose education was different from that of the dominant elites. They follow the tradition of the democratisation of 'taste' suggested by Joshua Reynolds in his Royal Academy lectures (1769–90) and developed by Matthew Arnold in *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), some 25 years after John Loudon's death. This fits with the arguments of Jonathan Rose, on the value of an authentic liberal education, which currently survive in state subsidies of culture in the form, for example, of free or low entry costs into museums, galleries and parks.⁴ The Loudons' publications anticipate, perhaps, the educational mission of the 'family literary magazines' of the following decades, whose editors constructed their periodicals both to make sense of culture and to define it.⁵

Taste and possession lie at the heart of the Loudons' publications as property, gardens and associated products are carefully costed. Both writers suggest that ownership is not necessarily the prerogative of taste but as Pierre Bourdieu has argued, the acquisition of an aesthetic outlook perpetuates class divisions because it serves to display prestige and to oppress the poor through disregard of poor culture, legitimising social difference.⁶ With an increased focus, however, on the variety of ways in which texts might be received or read over the last 30 years (from Robert Darnton, to Laurel Brake, Andrew King and Jonathan Plunkett, and William St Clair, amongst others), Bourdieu's notion of a dominant 'high' culture has been modified. A more nuanced picture is emerging of a plurality of cultures which feed into one another, of which the Loudons' promotion of taste is but one part. I suggest that John Loudon's attempts to democratise taste attracted opposition in the press from Tory and Anglican elites. Similarly, as I argue in

³ Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation'* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 48.

⁴ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, 2nd edn (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁵ See Jennifer Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian Literary Family Magazines and the Cultural Heart of the Nation* (Columbus: Ohio State Press, 2004), p. 17.

⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction, A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 11th printing, 2002).

Chapter 6, Jane Webb Loudon was criticised by a formally educated, mobile, male elite who dominated public culture, partly because of her attempts to include women readers in scientific and aesthetic discourses.

The account of press opposition to the Loudons' publications in the period is balanced in this book by a discussion of the development of a discourse of specialisation in them and the creation of a distinct and gendered middle-class readership. In *Family Fortunes* (1987) Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall allege that the Loudons contributed through their publications to the restriction of women's lives to the domestic sphere. In chapters 5 and 6, I follow Heath Schenker, who suggests instead that the Loudons mediated the lives of middle-class women as the demands of advanced capitalism separated the place of work from where people lived.⁷ Both the Loudons needed the new groups of readers they addressed in order to sell their publications and to make a living. Their forms of publications were created with ideas about their intended publics, which, in turn, produced 'the space of their social reception' identified by Rogier Chartier, rather than conforming to already solidified social differences.⁸ Moreover, the ideas that liberal free trade might be as applicable to the production of print as of other products and that the redistribution of knowledge was part of that process, were shared by the most commercially successful publishers, including Longman, as John Feather has suggested.⁹

In Chapter 6 I show that the dissemination of science and aesthetics in Jane Webb Loudon's publications placed women at the heart of a process of naturalisation of middle-class culture for the benefit of the nation. At a pivotal time for women's journalism, her editorship of the *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad* (1849–50) is exemplary. I suggest that despite the difficulties faced by a woman operating in the disreputable public sphere of journalism, Jane Webb Loudon managed to oversee a publication in which women participated as consumers and producers of scientific, literary and aesthetic discourse. Furthermore, she included political discourse in a weekly paper that alerted middle-class female readers to the economic consequences of their confinement to the domestic sphere.

The Loudons and the Gardening Press places the Loudons' publications in the fields of history of the book, media history, garden history, urban social history, the history of education, nineteenth-century radicalism and women's journalism. Moreover, it makes original contributions to research in several of these areas: in terms of book history and media history for example, I use the Longman archives to establish the publication history of the *Gardener's Magazine* and its use of

⁷ Schenker, 'Women, Gardens and the English Middle Class in the Early Nineteenth Century', in *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850*, (ed.) Michael Conan (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), pp. 336–71.

⁸ Chartier, 'Labourers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader', in *The Book History Reader*, (ed.) Finkelstein, David and Alistair McCleery, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 87–98 (p. 93).

⁹ Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2006).

advertising. I consider its range of illustrations and its policy about them. An analysis of John Loudon as editor and publisher has not been published before, while Jane Webb Loudon's career as a journalist, which is also of relevance to women's history, remains partially documented. My account of the debates over the education of gardeners with their implications for all working men, John Loudon's recommendations and the response to them in the nineteenth-century press also makes public new material for social history, as do the new contexts for John Loudon's contributions to the development of cemeteries for urban social history.

Chapter 1

Who Are the Gardeners?

The Radical Origins of the *Gardener's Magazine*

The *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1822) was the first of a series of encyclopaedias produced by John Loudon.¹ Published by Longman, it incorporated the history, aesthetics and science of gardening and was the first and most comprehensive of its kind in Britain. The section, 'Statistics of Gardening', describes the social science of gardening, and John Loudon argues that the future of gardening will depend on the improvement of taste amongst patrons of gardens and on the education of gardeners. The entry concerning the patrons remained substantially unchanged throughout the editions of the *Encyclopaedia* produced within John Loudon's lifetime.² The entry 'Of the Education of Gardeners', however, was subject to several alterations.³ Both the 1,500-page *Encyclopaedia* and the 15-page entry on gardener's education were initially well received by the *Literary Gazette* in October 1822.⁴ Given that this was just three years after the Peterloo massacre and in the context of repressive government measures to maintain law and order, it was

¹ *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening: Comprising the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture, and Landscape-Gardening, Including All the Latest Improvements; A General History of Gardening in All Countries and a Statistical View of Its Present State, with Suggestions for Its Future Progress, in the British Isles* (London: Longman, 1822). Hereafter, the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* or *Encyclopaedia*, in text. Generally, *Ency. Gdng.* in footnotes and brackets.

² Apart from the 1822 edition, 'new' editions in Britain were issued in 1824, 1828 and 1834 with a 5th edition (2 vols) in 1835.

³ Loudon, 'Of the Education of Gardeners', in Loudon (ed.), *Ency. Gdng.* pp. 1322–37. Hereafter, 'The Education of Gardeners' in text and footnotes. All references will be made from the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia* of 1822 unless otherwise stated. Changes to the entry were made in the original 1822 edition (see below). Further amendments were made in the 1824 edition (see below). The 1828 edition appears substantially unchanged. In the 1834 edition, the entry is reduced to less than one page (see 'Postscript').

⁴ Joking reference is made specifically to 'The Education of Gardeners' (see below), but the reviewer comments: 'Mr. L. in every part of his work strongly recommends young Gardeners to improve themselves at all leisure times, and especially to improve their minds. He tells them never to be satisfied unless they feel they are making progress, and we certainly agree' ('The Encyclopaedia of Gardening', *Literary Gazette* [26 Oct 1822], 672–4 [674]). The *Literary Gazette* was a non-partisan weekly paper. Edited by William Jerdan, a Tory and friend of John Loudon, he either wrote or allowed the favourable review to be published.

still a far from safe time to postulate radical ideas. A critical review did not appear, however, until 12 years later in 1834, when a new edition of the *Encyclopaedia*, in 20 monthly parts (December 1833 to July 1835) was published, making it accessible to a broader audience. The radical stance of the entry had become more evidently problematic due, perhaps, to greater awareness by the Tory press of the potential actualisation of democracy. Other factors may have been the increased polarisation of the interests of the middle classes and the labouring poor after the failure of the Reform laws of 1832 to extend the voting franchise to the majority of working people, and the enactment of Poor Law legislation of 1834.

In this chapter I look at the intellectual context of 'The Education of Gardeners' and the origins of John Loudon's ideas. I argue that the explicit secularism and his educational agenda, which he believed would lead to a wider dissemination of wealth, endow the gardener with emblematic status. At the same time, the fusion of Calvinist and Enlightenment discourses suggests the development of an educated gardener whose life will be one of struggle and restraint. This struggle might, in turn, be a reflection of John Loudon's own life. Because 'The Education of Gardeners', as originally published in 1822, serves in part as an early manifesto for the *Gardener's Magazine* (founded four years later), I am placing this chapter at the beginning of this book.

In May 1834 an article appeared in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* entitled 'Loudon on the Education of Gardeners'.⁵ I consider John Loudon's entry in the light of this article as it highlights those elements which, given the political changes of the intervening 12 years, might affect the reading of it. *Blackwood's* was a Tory monthly that had been set up by the publisher and printer William Blackwood in order to attack the dominant position in the periodicals marketplace of a rival publisher, Constable. The successful Whig oriented quarterly the *Edinburgh Review* was published by Constable, and the *Quarterly Review*, published in London, was its clear Tory opponent. William Blackwood's immediate quarry was another of Constable's periodicals, the 'tottering' monthly *Scots' Magazine*.⁶ 'Christopher North', one of *Blackwood's* most vociferous and long-standing contributors, was the author of the article that contained edited extracts from Loudon's encyclopaedia entry.⁷

The critique by 'North' of John Loudon's views was taken up by some amongst the gardening press including James Rennie (1787–1867), briefly editor of the *Magazine of Botany and Gardening* (1833–37), who reprinted much of North's attack in June 1834 and commented,

⁵ 'Christopher North', 'Loudon on the Education of Gardeners', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707. Hereafter, *Blackwood's* in text and *BM* in footnotes or brackets.

⁶ See Finkelstein, *House of Blackwood*, p. 8.

⁷ 'Christopher North' was the pseudonym for John Wilson (1785–1854), who was also professor of moral philosophy and political economy at Edinburgh University. Hereafter, 'North'.

We have often wondered that nobody has hitherto taken the trouble to unmask the shameless wholesale plagiarisms, the vulgar filthy language, and the utter ignorance and presumption which issue from the book manufactory of Bayswater, and pollute the taste and unhinge the principles, religious, moral and political of gardeners and others, who unthinkingly drink their poison.⁸

James Rennie was the first professor of natural history and zoology at Kings College, an institution initially established to support Anglican-based education in London in opposition to the secularism of University College. An Anglican cleric, both Rennie's editorship and his professorship were terminated in 1834. He was vituperative about all the work produced by John Loudon's publishing enterprise, which included the *Gardener's Magazine* and articles by Jane Webb Loudon. Her initials 'J.W.L.' had first appeared within the pages of the *Magazine* in 1830, soon after her marriage to John Loudon.⁹ George Glenny (1793–1874), the editor of the *Horticultural Journal and Florists' Register*, also made several personal attacks on John Loudon and his family as we shall see in later chapters.¹⁰

The Education of John Loudon

From the age of 11 to 14, John Loudon attended school in Edinburgh on a part-time basis while he worked as an apprentice to a local nurseryman and landscape designer, John Mawer. He taught himself French and Italian, and, from 1803, after his arrival in London, German, Hebrew and Greek. Between 1798 and 1802, however, while apprenticed to another gardening company in Edinburgh, Dicksons and Shade, he attended the university. The absence of a degree from Edinburgh among the list of other qualifications he generally displayed on his publications, suggests that he did not gain a degree.¹¹

His principal teacher at Edinburgh was Andrew Coventry, who held the first official university post for agriculture in an English-speaking university from 1790.¹² Coventry gave a series of lectures on agriculture that are infused with

⁸ 'Mr. Conductor Loudon on the Education of Gardeners', *Magazine of Botany and Gardening, British and Foreign*, 2 (June 1834), 81–6 (81). Hereafter, *MBG* in footnotes; Ray Desmond, 'Loudon and Nineteenth-Century Horticultural Journalism', in *John Claudius Loudon and the Early Nineteenth Century in Great Britain*, (ed.) Elisabeth B. Macdougall (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1980), pp. 77–97 (p. 89).

⁹ See 'The Salle de Mars et de Flore' (649), signed 'J.W.L.' in 'Notes and reflections made during a Tour through part of France and Germany, in the Autumn of the year 1828, By the Conductor' (*GM*, 6 (Dec 1830), 641–9).

¹⁰ *Horticultural Journal and Florists' Register* (1833–40). Hereafter, *HJFR* in brackets and footnotes.

¹¹ Although agriculture was taught at the university it was not possible to gain a degree in the subject.

¹² Coventry held the post from 1790–1831.

botany, chemistry and geology. Whether John Loudon attended the lectures or not, they indicate the views of his teacher:

It is surely not presuming over much to hold every student of agriculture, especially at an university such as this, and living too in an age of liberal enquiry, to be more or less informed concerning the general principles of 'natural' philosophy or more properly speaking mechanical philosophy, and of chemistry and concerning the vegetable and animal kingdoms, besides somewhat concerning husbandry and the common business, or the ordinary way of conducting regularly the affairs of life.¹³

The importance of a scientific approach to the study of agriculture, in addition to understanding traditional horticultural methods and animal husbandry are emphasised by Coventry. The beliefs that knowledge in one area can feed into and stimulate knowledge in others and that practical measures can benefit from theoretical knowledge are evident. I quote the passage in full because this scientific approach to farming and gardening was adopted by John Loudon. In a later lecture, Coventry privileges the 'durable economy' over 'shifting taste' in the planning of the farm estate.¹⁴ He refers to the disagreements between writers on aesthetics including William Gilpin, Humphry Repton and Uvedale Price. In succeeding chapters I will show how the ideas on aesthetics developed by John Loudon in his publications, are closely linked to the science and economy of landscape.

John Loudon's pedagogical interest, however, might originate from his Scottish background. As early as 1809, when he was a practicing farmer at Great Tew, Loudon had established an agricultural college. Education and training had provided tangible economic benefits in Scotland, where the shortage of productive agricultural land necessitated training to provide alternative occupations. A relatively literate population was able to take up alternatives to farming partly because Calvinist principles had encouraged the development of reading in Scotland.¹⁵ Bible studies were part of the curriculum for the widespread network of primary schools that had been set up by the eighteenth century as Richard Altick has pointed out in his history of the development of mass reading culture.¹⁶

¹³ *Discourses Explanatory of the Object and Plan of the Course of Lectures on Agriculture and Rural Economy* (Edinburgh: A. Constable; London: John Murray, 1808), pp. 6–7. The lectures were published a 'few years' after Coventry read them to students. Loudon left the university in 1802.

¹⁴ Coventry, p. 52; Melanie Simo, *Loudon and the Landscape: From Country Seat to Metropolis, 1783–1843* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 4. I am greatly indebted to Simo whose work on John Loudon contributed to my initial interest in the subject.

¹⁵ For the ways in which Protestantism and Calvinism, in particular, fostered literacy, see Roger Chartier, 'The Practical Impact of Writing', in *The Book History Reader*, pp. 157–81.

¹⁶ Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957), p. 10.

More recently, Jonathan Rose has noted that one of the ‘highest literacy levels in the world’ had been achieved in parts of Scotland by this time.¹⁷ As might be expected from a non-Anglican, John Loudon’s syllabus (1809) was based on ‘Lancastrian’ non-sectarian principles, favoured by radical thinkers James Mill and Francis Place.¹⁸ The Bible in England was generally taught with the assistance of the Church of England’s gloss and commentary, known as the ‘Madras’ system, devised by Andrew Bell.

The initial definition of education given in the *Encyclopaedia* is broad and secular. It recalls the ideas of Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), whom John Loudon first met on his arrival in London in 1803, thanks to Coventry’s letter of introduction:

By education is generally understood that portion of knowledge which is obtained at schools; but we shall use the term in a somewhat more extended sense, and consider it as the means which may be employed to render a man competent for performing the part which he undertakes to perform in life with increased satisfaction to himself and others. Education may thus be considered as extending to everything which operates on the body or mind, from the earliest period of our existence to the final extinction of life.¹⁹

John Loudon argues (like Bentham) that education will benefit society as well the individual. It will enable a person to increase his skills and pass them onto others and it will increase his capacity for enjoyment by laying the intellectual foundations that might also help him through physical debility or old age. Operations ‘on the body or mind’ suggest a link between impressions on the body created by external objects that connect to the mind and develop into complex ideas. This was the predominant psychological model of the Scottish Enlightenment, developed by David Hume, Francis Hutcheson and George Turnbull.²⁰ Known as associationism, it implies that it is our experience that makes us human. Equally, John Loudon’s description might also be influenced by Bentham’s theory of the effects of ‘pleasure’ and ‘pain’ as the primary motive for action.

John Loudon argues that the gardener’s future will depend largely ‘on education, on his desire of raising himself, and on incessant application’.²¹ The principle that it is the duty of every man to fulfil his potential for civilisation is utilitarian in its broadest sense and may have been one of main reasons for the hostile reviews of Tory commentators. However, these ideas, exemplified by the *Historical Account*

¹⁷ Rose, p. 16.

¹⁸ ‘Prospectus – The Utility of Agricultural Knowledge to the Sons of the Landed Proprietors of England, and to Young Men Intended for Estate Agents’ (1809).

¹⁹ Loudon, ‘The Education of Gardeners’, p. 1322.

²⁰ See Alexandra Broadie, ‘The Human Mind and Its Powers’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, (ed.) A. Broadie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 60–78 (p. 68).

²¹ Loudon, ‘The Education of Gardeners’, p. 1322.

of the Discovery and Education of a Savage Man by Jean-Marc Gaspard Itard, were in circulation in the scientific circles (including James Sowerby and Sir Joseph Banks) to whom John Loudon was introduced on his arrival in London. Translated into English in 1802, the book details Itard's observations of a boy who had grown up in isolation in the wooded mountains of the Aveyron:

Cast on this globe, without physical powers, and without innate ideas, unable by himself to obey the constitutional laws of his organisation, which calls him to the first rank in this system of being; Man can only find in the bosom of society the eminent station that was destined for him in nature, and would be, without the aid of civilisation, one of the most feeble and least intelligent of animals.²²

The idea that man is born defenceless and unthinking had also been the argument of the Scottish Enlightenment. The Scottish historians, Adam Smith, John Millar and Adam Ferguson broadly described the evolution of society in progressive stages from the 'rude' to the 'civilised' and argued that it was society which civilised the individual. The possibility of improving the human condition implicitly criticises Rousseau's noble savage and the corruption of man by society.

Pedagogy

Numeracy, botany, zoology, meteorology, the history of implements, and drawing are amongst the subjects that John Loudon considers essential for the gardener to study in order to work professionally. Much of 'The Education of Gardeners', however, is concerned with methods that might facilitate the learning process:

The grand foundation for every kind of acquirement, is the cultivation of the faculties of attention and memory. Unless we pay attention to what is addressed to us, whether by the eye or the ear, it is impossible we can remember, because the sight and sound has made an impression on the memory, and without the memory, there can be no knowledge.²³

The emphasis on 'attention' to physical sensation and 'memory' again recalls the associationist model of psychology proposed by the Scottish Enlightenment and developed by David Hartley (1705–57) in his *Observations on Man* (1749). Hartley provides a physiological explanation for the theory set out in David Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739) that the attraction principle of each association (of ideas) leads to the movement of ideas. This process, Hume suggests, is analogous to the attraction of particles and the force of gravity in the physical Newtonian world. Hartley argued that impressions made by sight or sound cause the optic or

²² *An Historical Account of the Discovery and Education of a Savage Man, or of the First Developments [...] of the Young Savage Caught in the Woods Near Aveyron* (London: Richard Phillips, 1802), p. 3.

²³ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1324.

visual nerves to vibrate, which are transmitted to vibrations within the brain and give rise to sensation. If the sensations are repeated, ideas would be stimulated. Complex ideas and abstractions would then arise long after the original sensation is forgotten. Memory plays an important part because without it, the sensation would not register in the first instance. According to Hartley, 'All our voluntary powers are of the nature of memory'; he implies that the body must remember the sensation before a person may make a choice.²⁴ To facilitate the learning process, John Loudon argues, the memory has to be trained to retain aural or visual impressions. He suggests that this can be achieved through visual stimulus, the physical act of writing and drawing, object and place word association, and aural word association in which 'the more ludicrous the association the better it will be recollected'.²⁵

Some of John Loudon's 'ludicrous' examples derived their humour from ridicule of the church. The way to remember the name of the spice 'Eletarri' (cardamom), he suggests, is through the story of a group of Indians who are holding a bundle of the plants at the gate to Paradise and call out 'Elettari' to the porter who understands '*elect-are-ye*' and allows them in.²⁶ The plant was native to southern India and the association was reasonable, but the idea that 'these poor black fellows' (ibid.) and non-Christians might be associated with the elect could offend Presbyterians and members of the Scottish and English churches. 'North' makes this clear by citing the example in his article for *Blackwood's* in 1834, although it had been removed from the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia* of 1824.

Apart from content and learning methods, John Loudon's principle for education is organisation. The implied absence of an all-knowing God makes the need for guidance essential: 'The young gardener, who is just setting out in life, may well tremble at the consequences of proceeding on the journey without the guide of a judicious plan. This plan he must form for himself: because he alone knows the nature of his talents and resources'.²⁷ The secularism of John Loudon's educational agenda was unusual for the period. The representation of the gardener who may 'tremble', who is 'alone', and who must form his own plan as no one else will, might disturb the reader, as it underlines both his vulnerability and his potential for power. The need for time management, however, is common to earlier courtesy literature exemplified by a letter entitled 'Employment of Time' in Lord Chesterfield's *Advice to His Son* (1774).

The recommended intellectual education of gardeners was more general. It would be acquired by following a comprehensive and demanding schedule of self-education. The syllabus is arranged over a 10-year period, based on a strictly

²⁴ David Hartley, *Observations on Man*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London, 1791; repr. Poole: Woodstock Books, 1998), 1, p. 381.

²⁵ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1326.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 1335.

allotted 24-hour plan: 'Dividing the twenty-four hours which compose the day, in three equal parts, we have eight hours for rest, dressing and undressing; eight hours for labor, and acquiring the practice of gardening; and eight hours for refreshment and study'.²⁸ All eight hours available to John Loudon's apprentice gardener for 'refreshment' are entirely taken up with study, which he claims is about the same amount of time as that would be available to 'young men at college' (ibid.) if they are ambitious. The young gardener could also make himself more time to study if he slept for less than eight hours. 'North' mocks John Loudon's comparison of gardeners with students. In so doing he deflects the readers' attention from the radical argument that it is possible to study while working, even if it is difficult, and that the labourer might acquire academic skills. 'North' suggests instead that the work of the 'hand' and the 'mind' are appropriate only to particular ranks.

Within the syllabus, John Loudon allocates a certain number of hours to each subject. As early as 1560 in the *Book of Discipline*, the manifesto of Scottish Calvinism, the church elders had deemed two years as sufficient time to acquire reading proficiency, and this was the average amount of time spent in a Scottish primary schools by the eighteenth century. In this context, the daily hour or two that John Loudon proposes for the acquisition of Latin, English and Greek during the first three years before employment begins might appear reasonable. French, German, Dutch and Italian are to be studied for the succeeding seven years, and the gardener should try to study every day. During the 'spare time after breakfast and dinner' he should study botany, followed by 'other branches of natural history, gardening and farming books' in the later years of his apprenticeship.²⁹ If possible, in the evening, two hours for the first three years should alternate between practical observation through the drawing of architecture, landscape, people, plants, insects and minerals with the theory and practice of maths and science, including the study of Euclid's *Elements*. The rest of the evening should be spent writing essays or letters in order to improve style and handwriting, along with miscellaneous reading, preferably of an encyclopaedia.

During the course of the day then, the young gardener will cover a broad range of arts and science subjects which reflect the more generalist education supported by Scottish universities. John Loudon's syllabus was also partly based on his own ability to teach himself, as indicated at the beginning of this chapter. He is not suggesting that it is possible to become an expert in all these subjects, rather that the gardener may become more knowledgeable over a 10-year period. 'North' ridicules the syllabus, which he argues is overambitious and covers the 'whole cycle of human knowledge', partly because of the threat he perceived to the cultural domination of his own class.³⁰

Calculation is written deep into John Loudon's education for gardeners as he assigns an allotted time for study, describes a plan for annuities whereby

²⁸ Ibid., p. 1328.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 1331.

³⁰ *BM*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707 (697).

the gardener saves for the future by putting aside a little at a time and advises on calculation before action. The rhetoric of balance and calculation, recalls the language of Bentham in his codification of the law whereby a system of bifurcation of crimes or offences leads to a corresponding system of punishments. In Bentham's *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789), the 'sum' of pleasures, for example, are compared with those of pain. The 'balance' will lead to an assessment of what action might lead to a 'good' or a 'bad' tendency for the individual and for society as a whole.³¹ If a man conforms to Bentham's principle of utility, his actions will be 'determined by, and proportioned to the tendency which he conceives it to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the community'.³² Bentham argues that 'all men calculate' and that even if the system cannot be precise it will be fairer and more understandable than referring back to tradition.³³

Likewise, John Loudon suggests that the possibility of leading a life above immediate want is based on the calculation of how much you can learn and the number of hours you labour, over a number of years. No young gardener should forget that if ambition is not supported with constant hard work, very little will be achieved. There is however, little acknowledgement by John Loudon that if you are born without money, ambition might be impossible to realise:

When we look round, and observe the quantity of misery in the world; the greater proportion is, or seems to be, the result of a want of a plan, or of a bad plan of life. [...]

Want of a plan may not, in every case, be the cause of all this misery; [...] but we have no hesitation in asserting, that want of plan, as a cause of misery, is as ninety-nine to a hundred.³⁴

He attributes most poverty and the misery that results, to failure of the individual, and not to an unjust political system, just as according to Calvinist principles, the majority of people may never become part of the 'elect'.

Secular Gardener as Saint

Through a combination of measures, John Loudon promotes a life for the gardener which is devoted to work and self-denial. In addition to the demanding schedule which leaves him with little time to do anything but work, study, sleep and eat, John Loudon advises him to save money. He should refrain from buying luxuries

³¹ Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, (ed.) James H. Burns and Herbert L. A. Hart, 2nd edn, New Intro., Frederick Rosen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 40.

³² Ibid., p. 13

³³ Ibid., p. 174.

³⁴ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1335.

such as ‘tea, sugar, spirits’ (partly because they were heavily taxed), or second-hand clothes.³⁵ The act of prayer and the assimilation of God’s works have been replaced by the act of study in order to understand the material world and gain material improvement:

Morality and religion are usually treated as depending on each other; the latter is considered as the principal foundation of the former, and man is taught to be sober and honest not only to avoid the punishment awarded by the laws of his country, but to avoid still greater punishment in futurity.

Those who treat morality apart from religion, say that truth, justice and honesty, are essential to the existence of regular society. [...] In short, it is necessary to be moral, in order not to be disreputable; and worth while to be highly so, in order to ensure confidence and respect. Whatever theory therefore the young gardener may adopt, there is only one practice which he will find to answer his expectations; and that is, the strictest regard to truth, honesty, sobriety, decency, and purity in himself; and respect for others in proportion as these virtues appear in their conduct and conversation.³⁶

The points about the morality of religion depending upon fear of divine retribution and the possibility of the separation of morality from it recall Bentham’s radical publication *Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the Temporal Happiness of Mankind*, which was edited by George Grote.³⁷ The work was published by Richard Carlile in 1822, the same year that John Loudon’s *Encyclopaedia* was published (by Longman). Bentham and Grote were convinced that they could be prosecuted for disseminating heretical opinions and used the pseudonym of ‘Philip Beauchamp’. Bentham suggested that the corruption of contemporary society is the result of its religious structure as moral behaviour is encouraged through the fear generated by the belief in life after death and the possibility of further divine punishment. The rational alternative, Bentham implied, is a secular society.

John Loudon promotes a Puritan ethos in a secular world in which the gardener’s religion is up to his own conscience, and morality and religion are not necessarily interdependent. He argues for the separation of religion from public life at a time when the two were generally considered to be inseparable. This was exemplified by the raft of legislation which prevented most non-Anglicans from holding public office and participating in most of the professions. It would be another six years

³⁵ Ibid., p. 1332.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ ‘Philip Beauchamp’ [George Grote], *An Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the Temporal Happiness of Mankind* (London: R. Carlile, 1822). According to F. Rosen, Bentham was the author, but it was edited by George Grote (*Principles of Morals and Legislation*, p. xlv). More recently, Joseph Hamburger has suggested that it should be considered ‘a jointly authored work’. ‘Grote, George (1794–1871)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004), online edn, May 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11677>>. [accessed 14 December 2012].

before the Test and Corporation Acts, which prevented non-Anglican Protestants from participating in government, were repealed. This was followed in 1829 by the Catholic Emancipation Act that led to the extension of almost all civil rights to Roman Catholics. John Loudon's secularism is one of the principle reasons for the attacks against him by 'North' in *Blackwood's*. If, however, Loudon had published 'The Education of Gardeners' as a separate pamphlet in 1822 (as were a number of his other publications), instead of as an encyclopaedia entry, he might have faced the prosecution that Bentham and Grote feared.

Urging 'sobriety', 'decency' and 'purity in himself', John Loudon suggests that the gardener should be true to his own beliefs and, perhaps, sexually inactive.³⁸ These qualities were signs of the devout and suggest the transformation of the gardener figure into a vernacular saint; such moral behaviour may have been a generally shared ideal but was not how the majority lived. Presbyterian discourse in 'The Education of Gardeners' promotes secular or utilitarian virtue in a society in which personal integrity, as opposed to godliness, is the 'essential' component. 'Confidence and respect' from others, he concludes, should be earned through behaviour rather than conferred through superior social status.³⁹

Thomas Carlyle, born in Scotland 12 years after John Loudon, remembers his own upbringing by a Presbyterian father: 'We were all particularly taught that work (temporal or spiritual) was the only thing we had to do, and incited always by precept and example to do it well'.⁴⁰ John Loudon too, was an exemplary father figure, urging gardeners onwards through hard work. The 'young gardener' is his favoured form of address and was characteristic of pedagogic discourse, but this might also suggest that he imagines himself as father to his readers. The Presbyterian or Puritan rhetoric that surfaces in some parts of the text, however, refigure him from parent and teacher to preacher:

Let the gardener never forget that, though something will depend on the nature of his organisation, yet, that much the greater part depends on education – on his desire of raising himself, and on incessant application. To desire anything ardently, is, in truth, to be divinely inspired with the power of attainment.⁴¹

He appropriates the language of the Puritans, who had previously tried to direct the lives of the converted to perform material acts that might bring them closer to divine election. He reminds the gardener that he must 'never forget', and to make 'incessant application'. This state of heightened consciousness is comparable to the Calvinist living out of the Revelation, just as the implication of 'raising himself up' is both social and religious, with the suggestion of rising up in rank, and rising nearer to God. To 'desire ardently', to 'be inspired', are both pietist references,

³⁸ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1332.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, (ed.) James Anthony Froude, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1881), p. 55.

⁴¹ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1332.

which, when combined with the ‘power of attainment’ take on revolutionary colour. However, as David Mullan has pointed out in his history of Puritanism in Scotland, ‘Presbyterianism was a creed which called for victory, but was kept alive predominantly through its experience of frustration and even defeat’.⁴²

John Loudon urges the gardeners then, to aspire upwards through education in the face of severe physical and social obstruction. The path of his own life may ultimately have been one of frustration as from the age of 23 he was severely and increasing physically incapacitated. In 1806 he caught rheumatic fever which left him with a limp. Unsuccessful treatments for the pain led to a temporary addiction to Laudanum and the amputation of his right arm in 1825. Despite his devotion to work, he did not achieve the financial security of a comparable figure such as Joseph Paxton (1803–65). In her account of John Loudon’s life, Jane Webb Loudon also suggests that he did not receive the credit that was due to him as ‘nothing was more common than for him to find persons taking the merit to themselves of inventions which he had suggested years before’.⁴³

Labourer to Gentleman

Once more exemplifying the use of religious language in aid of social mobility, John Loudon argues that a man may achieve anything provided he perseveres: ‘keeping alive that enthusiasm and ardour which always accompany powerful desires. Even the most extravagant desires, when sufficiently powerful, are often gratified’.⁴⁴ Taking this idea to its limits he suggests that if the reader ‘will first make himself acquainted with the history of all men who have raised themselves from nothing to be king, and then consider in which part of the world he is most likely to succeed, he may very likely attain his object’.⁴⁵ Equally a monarch may arise to power by getting in with the ‘prevailing party’ or by ‘discovering the true religion’.⁴⁶ These comments may well be jokes against the English monarchy and the Jacobite rebellion; but the implication is that the monarchy is not an inherited and permanent fixture.

The wish to be king is just the first of John Loudon’s ‘extravagant desires’. It is possible to amass a fortune if the reader is frugal with his time and money instead of engaging in property speculation or marrying a wealthy woman. Even ‘original genius’ may be aspired to because with due application, good results can be realised by the averagely talented. His claim, for example, that every man might

⁴² David George Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590–1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 318.

⁴³ Jane Webb Loudon, ‘An Account of the Life and Writings of John Claudius Loudon’, in *Self-Instruction for Young Gardeners* (London: Longman, 1845), pp. ix–xlviii (p. xii). Hereafter, ‘Life of John Loudon’, in footnotes.

⁴⁴ Loudon, ‘The Education of Gardeners’, p. 1323.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

aspire to be a Burns or a Byron, seen in the context of the *Blackwood's* attack on the 'Cockney school' of poetry, might well have been a deliberate provocation to Tory readers.⁴⁷ Indeed, the *Literary Gazette*, a non-partisan weekly, jokes (at the original date of publication in 1822), 'Mr. L. teaches him (the gardener) to cultivate faculties which, in other directions, would make Kings or Poets'.⁴⁸ John Loudon's general point however, is to demystify the elite of Regency society in the political, financial and aesthetic arenas or careers: 'generally considered as depending on fate, original genius, or predestination'.⁴⁹

In the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia* of 1824, the most subversive aspirations of the gardener as king or great poet have disappeared. Excellence could be achieved instead within a number of established or developing professions also included in the 1822 edition: 'as a literary character, natural or experimental philosopher, mathematician, divine, lawyer or physician'.⁵⁰ The last three categories of clerics, lawyers and doctors formed a 'powerful trinity' of professionalism.⁵¹ With the creation of the Royal Societies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these experts articulated their specialised knowledge and by implication rejected bad practice. Scientists – 'natural or experimental philosophers' – had formed their own Royal Society in the 1660s, but many also had close connections to trade, exemplified by the members of the Lunar Society, James Watts, Matthew Boulton and Josiah Wedgwood. John Loudon does not list trade or business as an aspiration, possibly because a written body of knowledge was not required. The 'literary character', was a broad enough category to include poets, writers of fiction and contributors to periodicals, although the professional status of the latter was in some doubt. However, the broad link, though under much dispute, between all these categories of occupation was their status as befitting a 'gentleman'.

Teaching is not included in his list of occupations, as teachers were continuing to struggle to attain professional status.⁵² However, the absence of occupations connected to the visual arts is remarkable, particularly as this was one of John Loudon's own areas of expertise. The – 'artist of any description' – included in the original list of gentlemanly occupations in the 1822 edition has vanished in the second 1824 edition.⁵³ This may have been due to the confusion that surrounded the status of the artist as professional craftsman, talented amateur or 'original

⁴⁷ Campaign waged by *Blackwood's* against poets that included Leigh Hunt, William Hazlitt and John Keats on the grounds of their humble origin.

⁴⁸ *Literary Gazette* (26 Oct 1822), 672–4 (674).

⁴⁹ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1324.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Penelope Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain, 1700–1850* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 26.

⁵² See Corfield, p. 27.

⁵³ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1324.

genius'.⁵⁴ One of the impulses behind the establishment of the Royal Academy in 1769 had been to make painting a gentlemanly profession. Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose *Discourses on Art* marked each anniversary of its establishment, suggested that gardening itself might in some cases be an art or 'entitled to that appellation'.⁵⁵ However, this was not reflected in the status of the majority of gardeners whose connection to manual work allied them to labourers.

In 'The Education of Gardeners', John Loudon divides working gardeners into a hierarchy with 'serving' gardeners at the bottom, 'tradesmen' (nurserymen and planters) in the middle and 'artist gardeners' (landscape designers) at the top.⁵⁶ One of the central tenets of 'The Education of Gardeners', and of the *Gardener's Magazine*, is professionalisation and the transformation of the status of the majority from labourer or artisan to gentleman. It constituted an attempt to disseminate one scarce order of resources – gardening knowledge and skills in order to produce another scarce order of resources – economic and social benefits.⁵⁷ John Loudon's own professional credentials were established through his membership of the Linnaean Society (est. 1788), the more recently created Horticultural Society (est. 1804), and the Society for the Arts and Manufactures (est. 1754), to which he had belonged for one year.

John Loudon draws parallels between the gardener and the working man in 'The Education of Gardeners', the goal of improvement does not preclude the development of the gentleman type. Without the aid of 'personal accomplishments' and polite conversation, social advancement is not possible: 'To a man who has no other resources for advancement in life than such as are personal, every exterior requirement is of the utmost importance'.⁵⁸ This aspect of John Loudon's pedagogy was also criticised by 'North' in his *Blackwood's* critique. John Loudon appropriates conduct advice for children of the gentry who would be possessors of wealth or property, for the lower ranks, in order to eradicate the differences:⁵⁹ Dancing, for example, will 'give an easy, graceful, yet manly action', leading to good posture when sitting and standing. Boxing and playing the violin will also contribute to elegant behaviour.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, (ed.) Robert R. Wark, 1959, rev. edn 1997 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 240.

⁵⁶ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1336.

⁵⁷ See Corfield, p. 24.

⁵⁸ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1330.

⁵⁹ Advice on dancing and posture formed part of the discourse of contemporary courtesy manuals directed at children of the gentry, partly in order to accentuate their difference from the lower ranks. See Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1600–1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), p. 78.

⁶⁰ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1333. Bentham was a violinist. In his introduction to North's critique published in the *MBG*, Rennie refers to Loudon's 'king-making' and 'fiddler-making' activities (*MBG*, 2 [June 1834], 81–6 [81]).

Careful to distinguish between good manners and insincerity, John Loudon suggests that the foundation for politeness is consideration of others. Politeness is an asset for all people regardless of class: 'the ornament or finish of morals or manners; and though it is commonly thought to belong chiefly to the higher classes, yet it will be found both attainable and useful to a high degree, by every class, and by none more than the gardener'.⁶¹ There is, however, a difference between polite conversation and discussion. The latter seeks to establish the truth, which, he suggests, is the responsibility of education and the press. In polite social situations, argument is pointless as people do not change their minds for fear of losing face. This might seem stifling to the twenty-first-century reader, but John Loudon's point is that politeness is learnt, as are other skills, and he is giving that opportunity to those who do not have access to polite society through family connections.

In their history of middle-class English families of the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, Davidoff and Hall have shown that most women (apart from those from the highest ranks) were generally without power and rights to property.⁶² The same, I suggest, applied to the majority of gardeners. Parallels may be drawn as well, between women's education and the education of gardeners. In an essay on the development of liberal education, Mary Hilton has argued that piety and 'learned skills' were replaced with the learning of manners, attitudes and appropriateness of behaviour, with all ranks as the main constituents in order to 'ensure the transmission of more volatile forms of patrimony'.⁶³ A woman educated to be at ease in polite society will be more likely to marry into the gentlemanly ranks and pass her knowledge on to her children. The emphasis on manners as part of John Loudon's syllabus for gardeners or working men is not to ensure inheritance but to empower them to participate in the more 'volatile' economy; their movement upwards within the Regency hierarchy will be facilitated.

Some of the measures John Loudon suggests, such as the controlling of the face muscles and the development of role play, build up a picture of social unease and denial of self:

If the muscles of his face are put in training by the gardener at the commencement of his apprenticeship, almost anything may be done with them, as may be proved by the case of comedians. A gardener's object should be less the power of varying them, than of giving them a *set* expressive of animation joined to a degree of satisfaction: this medium or central disposition he can occasionally alter to that of pleasure on the one hand, or disapprobation on the other.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1332.

⁶² Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 276.

⁶³ See Mary Hilton, "'Child of Reason': Anna Barbauld and the Origins of Progressive Pedagogy", in *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress, 1790–1930*, (ed.) Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch (Harlow: Longman, 2000), pp. 21–38 (p. 29).

⁶⁴ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1333.

The reading of the face had been popularised by the translation in 1789 of *Essays on Physiognomy* by John Caspar Lavater. He argued that 'the moral life of a man, particularly reveals itself in the lines, marks and transitions of countenance'.⁶⁵ If the gardener can train himself to adapt a neutral expression and to be animated when appropriate, his relationship with his employer will benefit. If a group of young gardeners take it in turns to role play different members of the family, they will learn to avoid 'the family wrangling and snarling, which commonly occurs at fire-sides' and will behave in polite society.⁶⁶

The idea of self-control is, however, taken by John Loudon into the heart of the family. Distance should be maintained at all times amongst family and close friends in order to maintain mutual respect. Typically, amongst the lower classes, he claims, hatred may arise between man and wife because they know each other too well. All those who wish to be respected, therefore, should restrain feelings of 'love and hatred, curiosity and communicativeness'.⁶⁷ The 'polite gardener' is compared to an espaliered cherry tree, shaped through effort and careful planning, in contrast to the rough unpruned one. The gardener's polite transformation is achieved then, at the expense of his natural means of expression. This turning inward of feeling encouraged, perhaps, by Presbyterian discourse, is exemplified by Carlyle's portrait of his father: 'His heart seemed as if walled in; he had not the free means to unbusom himself'.⁶⁸

John Loudon also advises the gardener not to marry until he is at least 25 and to limit the number of children to a maximum of two as 'universal sources of happiness should never be rejected, when they can be retained'.⁶⁹ His comment that a 'young couple will not be very nice in the quantity or quality of their furniture' might suggest that the realisation of love itself should be denied in the interest of economic improvement.⁷⁰ Advocacy of birth control in response to the Malthusian fear of overpopulation and reduction of labour opportunities had recently and more famously been endorsed by Francis Place in *Illustration and Proofs of the Principle of Population*.⁷¹ 'North' interprets John Loudon's encyclopaedia entry in this light. He refers to John Loudon's use of 'the most loathsome language of the anti-propagationists' and deliberately coarsens his vocabulary; he inaccurately

⁶⁵ John Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, trans. T. Holcraft (1789), 9th edn (London: William Tegg, 1855), in *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts, 1830–1890*, (ed.) Jenny Bourne Taylor and Sally Shuttleworth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 8.

⁶⁶ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1333.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1334.

⁶⁸ Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, 1, p. 21.

⁶⁹ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1337.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Francis Place, *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population: Including an Examination of the Proposed Remedies of Mr Malthus, and a Reply to the Objections of Mr Godwin and Others* (London: Longman, 1822).

cites a young couple 'eager to get the use of each other's persons' instead of John Loudon's polite young couple 'anxious to consummate their first wishes'.⁷²

'North' embraces the 'natural' cherry tree instead, in its 'still unsubdued splendour'.⁷³ He sneers at the gardener who needs physical training when he is already a man of the soil and questions the sincerity of one who can act. He argues that, on the contrary, it is good to be familiar with family and friends. His portrait of the gardener's domestic life is an idyllic one:

In our walks over the world, we have looked in upon hundreds of gardeners in their own houses, and have always met with a kind welcome. No other class of men is so well off for wives. How ladylike many matrons who have received us with a curtsy, a smile, and a hand, in tree-shaded dwellings not far apart from the hall or mansion-house.⁷⁴

For 'North' and his readers, the gardener's existence is part of the structure of the estate. His home evokes nature's benevolence in grounds that retain 'something of the wild character of the forest', suggesting perhaps the gardener's affinity with Rousseau's idea of the noble savage and looking back to Adam in the Garden of Eden. 'North's' account positions the gardener within an idyll of proper rank; his wife will not have been 'degraded', for example, by having been a domestic servant. On the contrary, he suggests that gardeners may marry upwards: 'we could mention instances of gentle blood blushing in the faces of bold Sons of the Spade'.⁷⁵

Within the gardener's family, 'North' claims, nature and Christian love come together. Pregnant every year, the gardener's wife gratefully accepts baby clothes from the landowner's daughters on their charitable visits. The image of the fecund and content family emphasised by 'North' is noticeably absent from John Loudon's account. He suggests instead that the accumulation of children leads to 'a life of hard labour, scanty food, and their attendants, bad temper, and often disease'.⁷⁶ A number of the letters from working gardeners and others that reached the early numbers of the *Gardener's Magazine* testify to low pay; some refer to the difficulties of feeding a family.

John Loudon should remember, 'North' argues, that even 'the most ignorant, coarse and clownish lout of a clodhopper', may have loving feelings for a wife who is 'an assemblage of all that is most ludicrous in nature and art'.⁷⁷ North's defence of love in a young gardener's family in opposition to John Loudon's mechanistic account might appeal to the reader. However, his description merges

⁷² *BM*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707 (704); Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', *Ency. Gdng.* 1824 edn, pp. 1135–46 (p. 1145).

⁷³ *BM*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707 (703).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 692.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1337.

⁷⁷ *BM*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707 (704).

the figure of the gardener with the rural labourer as an object of derision. Within the gardener's family 'there is scolding, squalling, cuffing, kicking and frequent pulling of ears. Yet on the whole the family are happy'.⁷⁸ 'North's' embrace of the 'natural' cherry tree, then, endorses the status quo and implicitly rejects the democratisation of education which may bring about social change. This is not surprising as 'North' is writing about gardeners in *Blackwood's Magazine*, which was addressed to landowners as well as yeomen and the clergy. The niche market for *Blackwood's* indicated by its monthly price of 2s. 6d. would have excluded the majority of waged gardeners.

Monthly numbers of the *Encyclopaedia* issued in 1834, however, were the same price as *Blackwood's*. John Loudon addresses landowners of a more philanthropic persuasion as well as a metropolitan audience of middle-class readers. The solution for gardeners who could not afford to buy books because their wages were often less than those of a 'common laborer', John Loudon suggests, is to 'borrow' them.⁷⁹ His hope is that working gardeners will read the *Encyclopaedia* in public or private libraries. 'North' argues instead, that 'borrowing' books is tantamount to stealing from both employers and publishers, indicating once again, his view that intellectual knowledge is not appropriate for those who cannot afford it. Indeed, he asks the question, 'Will the gardeners of Britain degrade themselves so far as to *borrow* a book blundered out of the block-head of a fool as he who spawned the following filth?'⁸⁰

Censorship

The 'filth' 'North' mentions refers mainly to the explicit secularism of John Loudon's encyclopaedia entry, which he proceeds to quote extensively. However, the most radical of his citations are hard to find. Of the 2,500 printings of original 1822 edition of the *Encyclopaedia*, only 500 were unaltered.⁸¹ As John Loudon explains to 'North' in a response published in *Blackwood's* two months later, 'The most objectionable of the passages which you have quoted or referred to were pointed out to me by a friend, and I immediately had cancels made of them'.⁸² I suggest that the 'friend' might have been the publisher, Longman, who was liberal leaning, but withdrew from the publication of Jeremy Bentham's *Westminster Review* in 1823, partly because of its support for radical materialism.

In the expunged paragraphs cited by 'North', John Loudon had allied religion with superstition as man finds himself 'but a man among other animals, and a mere man. His extravagant hopes now vanish, and with these his superstitious

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1329.

⁸⁰ *BM*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707 (706).

⁸¹ The 1822 edition at the British Library has been censored.

⁸² *BM*, 36 (July 1834), 96.

fears'.⁸³ Different religions had been compared to a long-established species of plant which had branched out to form different varieties. He had asked which is the 'true religion' for mankind? He had claimed above all, that 'Absolute truth is that which is true in the nature of things, or capable of demonstration'. He had concluded that as religion 'is a sort of speculation on the nature of things [...]'. There can be no person without religion'.⁸⁴ He had then equated diverse religions including Christianity and Islam, with non-religious systems of thought such as atheism and scepticism. The latter may not be national religions, he suggested, but they likewise offer principles for behaviour. This most overt anti-religious content of the original edition of 1822, cited in full by 'North' in *Blackwood's* in 1834 had, however, been removed from the majority of the first editions and all subsequent ones.

It might be that 'North' had no need for John Loudon's explanation. He may knowingly have referred to the rare unaltered first printings in order undermine other elements of the text. It allowed him to portray John Loudon not just as a figure of fun – 'our sage', the 'Gardener's Friend', 'our modern Socrates' and 'our physiognomist' – but as a liar, 'a wretched ignoramus' who represents a danger to British society.⁸⁵

The radical thrust of John Loudon's discourse on education remained despite religious censorship. His argument, for example, that knowledge is dependent on the society in which it is expressed is retained in the second edition of 1824 but printed at a reduced font size in comparison with the main body of the text. The small print may have been an attempt to make space for new additions elsewhere in the *Encyclopaedia* and was a practice common to periodical publication. However, it might also suggest that two years later, he felt it was necessary to camouflage the more subversive ideas. Equally, his argument that the learning of the church and its organisation have developed over time was printed in a smaller font size in the 1824 edition, as was his suggestion that the current knowledge of a working man or servant such as a 'modern chemist's porter' would have considered heretical.⁸⁶ His suggestion that because of the growth of the press, the working man might now be better informed on political and economic questions than the majority of French and Russian aristocrats was treated likewise.

Also hidden in the small print of the 1824 edition, but in the regular-size font of the 1822 edition, is the claim that it is 'impossible to set limits to the knowledge which may be obtained by those who are destined even to the most severe and constant labor'.⁸⁷ This claim is exemplified by the miners of Leadhills, who share a library and read not only the more vocational works on history or travel but also 'works of taste' including the 'best novels and romances'. Servants at inns on the

⁸³ *BM*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707 (706).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *BM*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707.

⁸⁶ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1323 (1824 edn, p. 1135).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* (1824 edn, *ibid.*).

continent can communicate sufficiently in several languages. Women of this rank are equally versatile as John Loudon demonstrates with his account of a barmaid he met at a hotel in Moscow in 1814, who was able to make herself understood in 'Swedish, Russian, Polish, German, French, Italian and English'.⁸⁸

It has been suggested that from the late 1820s, *Blackwood's* waged a campaign against the promotion of education for those outside the ruling classes, in which 'North's' article played its part.⁸⁹ In response to John Loudon's suggestion that the servant classes might be educated, for example, 'North' is dismissive.⁹⁰ Attachment to the status quo based on tradition was a Tory principle, and 'North' uses the past to strengthen his argument that servants do not need to be educated. John Loudon's ideas are 'loose talk', he claims, in which 'the whole history of man in his best imaginable condition gives the lie'.⁹¹ 'North' argues instead, that there is an appropriateness of knowledge which is dependent on one's place in society:

Limits are set to knowledge by severe and constant labour itself; yet are they not narrow limits, and within them may be found, within the four seas, myriads of men "their country's pride". Base it would be to seek to thwart the desire for instruction; but foolish is it to direct it to unattainable objects; or encourage it to go beyond the sphere of those essential and vital duties of which the performance secures the corresponding rights.⁹²

Manual work depends on strength, and because it contributes towards the expansion of empire, those who perform it can be proud of their achievements. The call to patriotism, however, obscures the harsh nature of existing conditions for the majority of labourers with the suggestion of proportional rewards; 'corresponding rights' secured by 'essential and vital duties'.

John Loudon, in contrast to 'North', addresses the actual conditions of most artisans and gardeners. His argument is that the labourer might improve his own economic position (as well as that of the empire) through education, or enrich what leisure time he may have. Furthermore, he points out that skilled workmen such as carpenters or masons need 'technical knowledge'.⁹³ Such knowledge may be different in kind from the intellectual knowledge of the higher ranks, but it nevertheless demonstrates that intelligence or rational thinking is more widely dispersed within the population than those like 'North' would presume.

⁸⁸ Ibid. (1824 edn, *ibid.*).

⁸⁹ See Catherine Fuller, *The Old Radical: Representations of Jeremy Bentham* (London: University College London, 1998), p. 46.

⁹⁰ Loudon suggested that supply would meet demand if higher ranks demanded more from their employees; a cook, for example, would be literate in Latin and a gardener would be literate in Greek or have been on a tour of Europe.

⁹¹ *BM*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707 (693).

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1323.

The Land

Autonomy or ‘independence’ is what the young gardener and all those who depend on their own abilities to generate wealth should aspire to.⁹⁴ The implication of a freewheeling army of independent working men might represent an unsettling spectre for landowning readers, although this might not be quite what John Loudon had in mind:

Happiness is the object of every action of human life, and consists in the gratification of certain wants and desires; some of these desiderata are peculiar to youth, and others to old age; but many, as clothing, food, rest, relaxation, entertainment &c. begin with the earliest, and continue to the latest period of life. All these gratifications are procured by labor; in a savage life, by hunting and fishing and gathering fruits, till the man, no longer able for these labors, is obliged to lie down and die of want. In a civilised society they are also obtained by labor; but here, what is called property exists; and man, in the vigor of his days when the supplies of his labor are greater than the demands of his wants and desires, or, when he chooses not to gratify the latter to the full extent admitted to the former, can, as it were, embody a part of his labor to be made use of when he is no longer able to perform it with ease.⁹⁵

The conditions which might lead to happiness have been procured by labour in both ‘savage’ and ‘civilised’ societies. The idea that land is the embodiment of labour derives from Locke and Common Law discourses, but John Loudon refers to ‘property’, which, according to thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment was a sign of civilisation.⁹⁶ In a ‘savage’ society man will die when he can no longer labour, but with civilisation, property becomes a form of exchange which man may acquire through labour. This ideology coincided with Scottish agricultural reform as Tom Devine has suggested in his history of modern Scotland.⁹⁷ John Loudon applied this principle rigorously during his farming career as he used it to reduce the number of tenant farmers at Great Tew more than 10 years earlier.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 1336.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 1335.

⁹⁶ See Christopher Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997) pp. 93–9. He discusses how William Robertson, Adam Smith, John Millar and Adam Ferguson develop the idea of the four stages of human evolution.

⁹⁷ He argues that it is no coincidence that just as Scotland was evolving from an agricultural to an industrial economy, ‘this interest in the material aspects of historical evolution matured to a high level of intellectual distinction’ (Tom Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000* [London: Allen Lane, 1999], p. 83).

⁹⁸ He was a tenant at Great Tew from 1808 to 1811. With the approval of the landowner, General George F. Stratton, and within a few years, Loudon and another Scottish farmer had replaced the 16 previous tenant farmers; a few were ‘obliged to quit at a year’s notice’ (Simo, p. 80).

Here he adapts it to empower the working man. If the gardener applies himself and saves money, he will be in a position to buy land or invest in annuities and become 'independent'. He does not make it clear exactly how much land the gardener should purchase, whether it would be a few acres which could supply basic food as with the cottars of Scotland, or whether it would be a large-scale property which would provide a source of income over and above immediate want. Property can be earned by those who work for it, and not inherited exclusively by the elite, but equally it is not the natural right of the labourer in the Lockean sense.

The importance of landownership needs to be seen in the context of a still predominantly rural society and of John Loudon's own experience of growing up in an area of Scotland in which traditional rural structures had undergone rapid transformation. The ease with which his father moved south, from Kerse Hall, near Gogar (Midlothian), to join his son in Pinner, and John Loudon's accommodation of his mother and sisters in his London home might suggest that his father had been a prosperous tenant farmer whose lease was dependent on the will of the landowner.⁹⁹ The uncertainty of the situation for agricultural workers who did not own their own land had recently been demonstrated, as landowners in most areas of lowland Scotland had consolidated their estates and the number of tenant farmers had been much reduced, along with the almost complete removal of the cottars.¹⁰⁰ John Loudon equates rights to land with security, in which neither the labourer nor the tenant farmer could be forced to move. Whilst he is not proposing that the landed elite should give up their land, he is a democratiser of landownership suggesting that even those who start off as serving gardeners can eventually own their own property.

John Loudon's encyclopaedia entry 'The Education of Gardener's' is positive about man's potential. His optimism derives from associationism. Hartley had argued that if our feelings can be analysed by the reversal of 'the steps of associations', it will be possible to learn 'how to cherish and improve good ones, check and root out such as are mischievous and immoral' in order to 'suit our manner of life'.¹⁰¹ Associationism implies that man is perfectible if appropriate measures are taken. 'North', throughout his critique, denigrates its optimistic account of human nature. He follows the alternative arguments of Robert Filmer (1588–1653), set out in *Patriarcha*, first published in 1680, and subsequently criticised by John Locke (1632–1704). Filmer had suggested that human beings are born without physical or legal powers and that the biblical Adam is the first father, endowed with authority over his children, just as a king has authority over his subjects and God has authority over him. Adam embodies both authority and the natural order. 'North' opens the *Blackwood's* article with reference to Adam, whose fall reinforces the idea that man is born with intrinsic flaws, his suffering ordained by God and not by flawed political systems. Having been driven out

⁹⁹ His father was an 'energetic, educated, independent small farmer' (Simo, p. 24).

¹⁰⁰ Devine, p. 135.

¹⁰¹ Hartley, I, p. 81.

of paradise: 'He and Eve, not unregarded by the stars, work by their two selves, shaping bowers, and arbours, and glades, so as to form, by a model imperishable to their memories, another small new garden of Eden'.¹⁰² All gardeners since are 'Adam's favourite sons' because, in engaging with nature they recreate paradise. The implication is that every time we look at a garden, or rural landscape, we are reminded of God.

The godliness of gardening was a trope of landscape poetry of the eighteenth century, and homage was paid by poets to garden patrons. Nearly a century before the controversy between John Loudon and 'North', Alexander Pope (1688–1744) claimed that 'gardening [is] more Antique and nearer to God's own work, than poetry'.¹⁰³ The poetry of Pope (and Thomson, see below) was, however, frequently reprinted in 'collections' over the next decades (and throughout the nineteenth century), ensuring that their ideas had currency.¹⁰⁴ Three of Pope's epistles were dedicated to the patrons and creators of famous gardens – Lord Burlington at Chiswick, Cobham at Stowe and Lord Bathurst at Richmond Gardens – as John Dixon Hunt in his account of the connections between eighteenth-century landscape, poetry and painting has pointed out.¹⁰⁵ Like Pope, James Thomson (1700–1748), in the 'Autumn' of his 'Seasons' (1744 edition), pays homage to Lord Cobham, who on his dismissal from the army had retired to his gardens at Stowe which he had redesigned:

Then lead, ye powers,
That o'er the Garden and the rural Seat
Preside, which shining thro' the cheerful Land
In countless Numbers blest BRITANNIA sees;
O lead on to the wide extended Walks/
The fair Majestic Paradise of STOWE!' (1048–1053)¹⁰⁶

Thomson links the order of Stowe, which is God-given and based on a monarchy, with the innumerable estates which existed throughout Britain. The gardener here is a patriot, whose care of his garden is comparable to the rural worker in the landscape; the harmony of both constitute a microcosm of a wider social order within Britain and her empire which looks back to Rome and the poetics of Virgil.

The local landscape that 'North' describes recalls this sense of a natural and ordained order. He suggests that each rank has an appropriate garden; the aristocrat, his 'stately yew-pawns and peacocks', while the common people are

¹⁰² *BM*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707 (691).

¹⁰³ John Dixon Hunt from Pope's correspondence, *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting and Gardening in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 102.

¹⁰⁴ See William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 525.

¹⁰⁵ Hunt, p. 103.

¹⁰⁶ James Thomson, *Seasons* (London: A. Millar, 1744).

allotted 'beautiful garden-plats on the banks and the braes all around about our native town, pretty Paisley'.¹⁰⁷ 'North's' gardener then, has poetic resonance, and whether worker or patron, he is an emblem of the British nation and patriotic effort. This is exemplified by the firm sound of the 'measured tread' of working gardeners on May Day, content to serve the nation in peace or war, in contrast with the 'leaden eyes' of the plumbers, the urban workers who seek Reform.¹⁰⁸

In contrast to 'North', John Loudon emphasises what the gardener, a traditionally rural figure, has in common with the working man of the city. Like him, he may learn from 'public lectures [...] artists, artisans of every description; and also manufactories, engines, mines, dockyards, and all other works displaying human skill'.¹⁰⁹ John Loudon claims these icons of industrialisation for those who work them, rather than the individual genius of their inventor or the autonomous magnificence of the machine itself. His point is to show how the educated gardener may apply science and labour to the transformation of landscape.

The hostility towards John Loudon's ideas illustrates the competing cultural claims between the Tory and Liberal press about the status of gardeners. For 'North', the gardener was an emblematic figure of the nation, a patriot, whose skills originated with Adam and were founded on tradition. The gardener's work is a reminder of God's work, and his status as either patron or working man confirms the justice of a natural social order defined by birthright.

John Loudon breaks down this myth of the gardener on several counts. Derived from ideas of the Enlightenment, Presbyterianism and utilitarianism, he refigures the gardener as a secular saint at the centre of the revolution in industry and agriculture. The modern gardener achieves at great personal cost, through self-denial and struggle in the face of obstacles to his progress. His knowledge is secular and not simply rooted in nature and traditional methods. The expansion of his knowledge has been made possible by the development of new printing methods and the increase of places where books might be borrowed or read. The power of the printed word as a means to achieve social change suggests a more gradual restructuring of the social order than the physical redistribution of land demanded by some radicals. Nevertheless, John Loudon urges the gardener to join the modern world and to become an independent agent, free of the servitude of Regency hierarchy. The gardener has the potential to shake up the social order. Given the correlation between the senses and the mind which grew out of Enlightenment thought, the effect of the physical environment on the individual and society has become significant. The gardener, then, whose role is to transform the landscape constitutes a pivotal figure for the development of the nation.

¹⁰⁷ *BM*, 35 (May 1834), 691–707 (691, 692).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 707.

¹⁰⁹ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1329.

Postscript

Let no young gardener, therefore, who reads this, even if he can but barely read, imagine that he may not become eminent in any of the pursuits of life or departments of knowledge, much less in that of his profession: let him never lose sight of this principle, – that to desire and apply is to attain, and that the attainment will be in proportion to the application.¹¹⁰

These words might well have been the foundation for the establishment of the *Gardener's Magazine*. They had, however, disappeared from the 1834 edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*. Indeed, the entry on education is reduced to less than one page.¹¹¹ It appears at the end of the bound volume, dated August 1834, *after* North's attack in May. John Loudon claims this is because 'wonderful changes' have occurred in education since the original edition of 12 years earlier.

I suggest that other factors contributed to the drastic reduction of the entry. Loudon's original 1822 text on 'The Education of Gardeners' was openly supportive of working men and was published in the context of repressive government measures taken in response to the Peterloo massacre of 1819. The limitations to free speech, amongst other restrictions that ensued, may have been felt by both middling ranks and artisans at this time. However, by 1834 shared class interest against repressive government was dissipated by the failure of the 1832 Reform Act to extend the voting franchise to those whose property was worth less than £10 a year. In the light of the demonstrations against the 1832 Act and the Poor Law Act of 1834, 'The Education of Gardeners', in its original form, could have been interpreted as propaganda for the Chartists, a movement that was not generally supported by the middle classes. Moreover, by the 1830s the Tory press was, perhaps, more alert to the potential actualisation of democracy and quicker to criticise any support for it. Finally, John Loudon, by this decade, had become a more established literary figure known for his encyclopaedias and magazines. Neither he nor his publisher Longman, were prepared to risk the loss of middle-class readers, their major niche market.

¹¹⁰ Loudon, 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1324.

¹¹¹ 'The Education of Gardeners' remained the same in the 1835 edition of *Ency. Gardng* as in the 1834 edition. In the 1850 edition, 'corrected and improved by Mrs Loudon', it was further reduced to less than half a page.

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Chapter 2

John Loudon as Editor

John Loudon founded the *Gardener's Magazine, and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement* (1826–44), a new 5s. quarterly first issued in January 1826.¹ He edited the *Magazine* for its 18-year duration, speedily transforming it into a bimonthly whose price fell from 3s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. from 1827, and to 1s. 6d. when it became a monthly in 1834.² Originally a periodical of more than 125 pages, becoming 50 pages in its monthly form, it was the first in Britain to combine the science and aesthetics of gardens. Topics included horticulture, landscape, new scientific discoveries, aesthetics, history and social and political issues, a mix reflected in the heterogeneity of its wood engravings.

In this chapter I look at John Loudon's aims in the context of technological change in the production of print, and the strategies he developed to maintain and increase readership in the face of the restraints on discourse, taxes on knowledge, and ideologies of gender, class and religion. I argue that his drive to refigure the gardener as a professional through the development of science and aesthetics parallels his desire to refigure the British nation as secular and socially fluid. The longevity of the *Gardener's Magazine* suggests that Loudon's editorial strategies were generally effective. I also chart the competition – the horticultural periodicals that existed before and after the *Gardener's Magazine*. I demonstrate that the diverse responsibilities of editors for the content and aesthetics of their journals, related commercial transactions, and ideas about their intended publics shaped their periodicals for the marketplace.³

The Publisher

The journalism of John Loudon was, in general, reformist, premised on the idea that positive social change would result from education, and that the development

¹ *The Gardener's Magazine, and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement*, 19 vols (London: Longman (1826–1839), printed for the Author (1839–44); *GM*, in footnotes and brackets.

² From the evidence I have seen the price is 1s. 6d. from 1834 onwards. An alternative price of 1s. 2d. is given by Brent Elliott, 'Loudon, John Claudius (1783–1843)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, May 2010 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.view/article/17031>> [accessed 27 November 2012].

³ See Robert L. Patten and David Finkelstein, 'Editing *Blackwood's*; or What Do Editors Do?' in *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805–1930*, (ed.) David Finkelstein (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 146–83 (p. 147).

of 'taste' in landscape (and the environment generally) would improve the quality of life for the greater number of people. These progressive tendencies fit within the imprint of the publishers of the *Gardener's Magazine*, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green.⁴ It was Constable, however, an Edinburgh-based publisher connected to Longman in the early years of the *Edinburgh Review* (1802–1807)⁵ that had published John Loudon's first book on landscape gardening in 1804.⁶ Archibald Constable (whose company collapsed in 1826) was just one of a number of Scottish-born publishing entrepreneurs (including Daniel Macmillan, Robert and William Chambers, Thomas Nelson and William Blackwood) whose patterns of publishing, in terms of the dissemination of knowledge through cheaper publications and periodical production in particular, dominated the English market throughout the nineteenth century.⁷ It was a trend absorbed by Longman and on a smaller scale by John Loudon in his publishing enterprise, as subsequent chapters will demonstrate.

Longman became John Loudon's main publisher with his early work on managing country estates of 1806 and on the application of Scottish farming principles to agricultural land in England in 1808.⁸ In 1811 Longman (and another company, Harding), jointly published his *Designs for Laying Out Farms and Farm-Buildings*.⁹ From 1813 to 1819 Loudon produced little published work as his time was taken up with travels to Europe, and private landscape design. Health problems ensued partly in response to the stress caused by the loss of his fortune while he was away. However, in 1819, he began work for the *Encyclopaedia of*

⁴ The number of named partners was changeable at this time and the maximum reached was six in 1824. The company will henceforth be referred to as Longman (as in the Introduction and Chapter 1). See Asa Briggs for information on the partners, *A History of Longmans and Their Books 1724–1990: Longevity in Publishing* (London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2008), pp. 158–66.

⁵ The company joined Constable in publishing the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802, but in 1807 sold its rights to Constable. Longman repurchased the rights in 1814, and gained exclusive rights after the collapse of Constable in 1826 (John Clive, 'The Edinburgh Review: The Life and Death of a Periodical', in *Essays in the History of Publishing in Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the House of Longman*, (ed.) Asa Briggs (London: Longman, 1974), pp. 113–40 (pp. 118–9). Also, Briggs *History of Longmans*, pp. 175–81.

⁶ *Observations on the Formation and Management of Useful and Ornamental Plantations* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1804).

⁷ David Finkelstein, *House of Blackwood*, p. 6; John Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 83; Patten and Finkelstein, 'What Do Editors Do?', p. 149.

⁸ *Treatise on Forming, Improving and Managing Country Residences* (1806) and *An Immediate and Effectual Mode of Raising the Rental of the Landed Property in England* (1808).

⁹ John Harding published his next work, *Hints on the Formation of Gardens and Pleasure Grounds* (1812).

Gardening, which was published by Longman in 1822. The *Gardener's Magazine* was initiated in 1826 as a quarterly supplement to the *Encyclopaedia*.

The Longman imprint was dominated by reference and educational publications as print historians (John Feather and Susan Sheets-Pyenson amongst others) have pointed out. The marriage of Mary Longman (daughter of Thomas Longman [1771–1842]) to Andrew Spottiswoode of the printing dynasty Strahan – one of five London printers to adopt the steam press in preference to the hand press before 1820 – was one of the factors that contributed towards increased profits due to falling production costs in publications involving large numbers.¹⁰

The company's specialisation is exemplified in a 16-page advertising supplement for books recently published sewn into the back of *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening* of 1824. Informal textbooks on a broad range of science subjects are advertised; as are editions of atlases, medical textbooks, collections of poetry, histories and memoirs. These adverts were 'an important commercial statement' by Longman, as the company depended on the purchase by the public of newly printed or reprinted texts.¹¹ Moreover, to maximise readership, some were published at different prices and formats. For example, the difference between the two higher prices of the *Select Work of the British Poets*—10 volumes for 31s. (royal 18mo), and 21s. (post 18mo)—indicates distinctive markets by quality of paper and size of volume; connoisseur collectors of books versus middle-class readership.¹² John Loudon's work fell into the niche market of the latter.

The profitability of encyclopaedias for Longman is indicated by the number of editions. John Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, which, as noted in the previous chapter, had reached its fifth edition by 1835 (and its eighth in 1878) was translated into German, with an abridged French edition; his *Encyclopaedia of Agriculture* which ran to several editions between 1825 and 1833 was also translated into French. The development of the stereotype method reduced reprinting costs and had particular impact on large-scale reference works like an encyclopaedia. Conceived in France in the early eighteenth century, the method was not adapted in Britain until the early nineteenth century. By the 1820s, despite opposition from the printing trade, the use of stereotyping was widespread.¹³

¹⁰ See Alexis Weedon, 'The Economics of Print', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, (ed.) Suarez and Woudhuysen, 2 vols, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) 1, pp. 105–14 (p. 109).

¹¹ Patten and Finkelstein, 'What Do Editors Do?', p. 165.

¹² 'Royal' and 'Post' indicate the type and size of paper (royal was the better quality). '18mo' means octodecimo and refers to the page size produced by folding each printed sheet into 18 leaves and indicates the size of the resulting book. *British Poets* was also available as one volume (8vo) at 18s. for schools. '8vo' means octavo and refers to the page size produced by folding each printed page 3 times to form 8 leaves, indicating the size of the resulting book; generally small and relatively cheap.

¹³ For my account of stereotyping I am greatly indebted to Allan C. Dooley, *The Author and Printer in Victorian England* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1992), pp. 55–78.

The stereotype was a mould, generally made out of plaster, 'gypsum', from the original typeset material. Moulds were kept, freeing up moveable types for other projects. If the book was reprinted, a metal cast was made by pouring molten metal into the mould. The process was particularly advantageous for publications in which large quantities of type were required over a long period, as was the relative ease of storage of stereotypes, and of the comparative facility with which minor adjustments could be made to individual pages for updating or revising.

The process was, however, technically challenging: plaster tended to stick to the metal surface so adjustments had to be made to the plate, which meant that it could not be used for printing; the size of the plates was limited as larger plates were prone to crack or warp as a result of uneven rates of expansion while being cast and cooling down. Then there was the problem of the accumulated weight of plaster moulds, 'the casting metal and iron casting boxes'.¹⁴ Moreover, an individual plate had to be cast for each page of text. All these factors required changes in the practices and the environment of the composing room, which was why the process was initially opposed.¹⁵ It was only with the introduction of the use of paper instead of plaster as the basis of the mould from 1846 that stereotyping became a fully efficient process. Nevertheless, even before this date, the possibility of profits for printers and publishers in the long-term outweighed the immediate expense and difficulty of stereotyping.

John Feather has argued that the revolution in 'cheap' publications may not have happened otherwise as the process 'opened up the possibilities of more or less unlimited reprinting, on paper of various qualities and in various styles of binding'.¹⁶ It is reasonable to assume that John Loudon's major reference works were stereotyped, and it is a sign of his status as a popular author at this time that Longman refer to stereotyping in relation to two of Loudon's journals, the *Gardener's Magazine*, and the *Natural History Magazine* (1828–36).¹⁷

It was possible for journals (unlike books) to carry adverts on their covers without being sewn in. This was a cheaper way to advertise products as bookbinding was a handcraft that did not lend itself to mechanisation and was expensive; Longman adverts, however, were sewn into the *Gardener's Magazine*, as we will see in the next chapter. The regular frequency of periodicals afforded multiple opportunities for inserting adverts. The publication of quality periodicals (such as the *Edinburgh Review*) benefited the publisher then, through free advertising and

¹⁴ Dooley, p. 60.

¹⁵ Additional demands required of compositors were the cleaning of the original metal type so that it could be reused, the use of formes in single pages taking much longer to lock up, and the final preparation of the finished metal plate once it had been baked with the plaster mould. See Dooley, pp. 60–61.

¹⁶ Feather, p. 89.

¹⁷ *GM* and *Natural History Magazine*, see University of Reading, Special Collections, MS 1393/ 1/ 102/ 162D; Susan Sheets-Pyenson, 'A Measure of Success: The Publication of Natural History Journals in Early Victorian Britain', *PH*, 9 (1981), 21–6 (22).

increased sales, whilst also enhancing the reputation of the company. Longman capitalised on the benefits to be gained from a relationship between commerce and periodical literature that had been pioneered by Scottish publishers.¹⁸ Their innovative practices were closely connected to the shift from piecemeal work to mass production that marked the industrialisation of Britain.¹⁹

The Competition

The proliferation of periodicals during the early nineteenth century has been well documented with the pioneering research of Richard Altick – *The English Common Reader* (1957) and Jonathan Klancher – *The Making of English Reading Audiences: 1790–1832* (1987). Among the ‘avalanche’, noted by Finkelstein,²⁰ of general studies on the Victorian press that have appeared since the 1990s, Andrew King and John Plunkett, *Popular Print Media* (2004), refer to the ‘ever-expanding world of print’ of Victorian culture and mark the early nineteenth century (1820s) as its beginnings with the perception of the development of print media as ‘split into mass and restricted markets’.²¹

The formats of serials ranged from the long-established quarterly despatches, the ‘Transactions’ of the learned societies of philosophy, science or literature to more recent ‘Reviews’ which also covered new books and contemporary political issues, as well as the more frequently issued magazines that covered some or all of these subjects in a less formal way. When the first issue of the *Gardener’s Magazine* was launched in 1826, 4,000 copies were sold, and demand for the *Magazine* continued to be high up until the early 1830s.²² These figures, however, need to be seen in the context of the 14,000 circulation of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1818 at the height of its popularity, and the possible 80,000 circulation in 1825 of the *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, a 2d. weekly intended for artisan readers.²³ The circulation of the *Gardener’s Magazine* was enough to keep it going, but not vast in relation to either the well-established quarterlies or the cheapest publications.

¹⁸ Literally, in this case, as Longman took over the publication of *ER* when Constable collapsed in 1826.

¹⁹ See Patten and Finkelstein, ‘What Do Editors Do?’, p. 149.

²⁰ Finkelstein, ‘Introduction’, *Print Culture*, p. 4.

²¹ Altick, pp. 318–64; Klancher (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 48–50; King and Plunkett, (eds), *Popular Print Media, 1820–1900*, 3 vols (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 1, p. 1.

²² Webb Loudon, ‘Life of John Loudon’, p. xxxii. In comparison, the circulation of the *Lancet*, another magazine concerned with professionalization (of medicine), was 4,000 when it started in 1823 and rose to 8,000 in 1825, just one year before the *Gardener’s Magazine* was launched.

²³ Brougham, ‘Practical Observations upon the Education of the People, Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers’ (London: Longman, 1825), 3.

In terms of discourse and textual practices, the *Gardener's Magazine* most resembles farming periodicals, including Young's *Annals of Agriculture* (1784–1815), and the *Farmer's Magazine* (1800–1825), a Scottish publication published by Constable. These periodicals contained accounts of farms and country seats, practical information and technical drawings of the latest implements. Because of the connection of farming to the production of food, the land and the people who lived and worked on it, discussion of social and political issues was also part of the discourse of these agricultural journals.²⁴

The circulation of the *Farmer's Magazine* matched that of the *Gardener's Magazine* when it was first issued.²⁵ Constable and Longman (their respective publishers) were moving towards mass production with the use of stereotyping and the centralisation of printing. The publication of botanical journals and part-works, however, whose information on the cultivation of plants was partly covered by the *Gardener's Magazine*, remained a cottage industry. Their sales were generally driven by the production of prints and were either the work of 'individuals' including scientists, printers and booksellers, or of companies such as Loddiges Nursery, whose *Botanical Cabinet* (1817–33) was produced to promote the sale of its seeds and plants.

The first of the botanical journals issued on a regular monthly basis was the 1s. *Botanical Magazine; or Flower-Garden Displayed* (1787–), founded by William Curtis (1746–99).²⁶ Curtis started the *Botanical Magazine* after the commercial failure of his 10-year project on London flora, *Flora Londinensis* (1787), a two-volume book with 400 hand-coloured plates, which he had been unable to complete and which had sold only 300 copies. In contrast, he sold 3,000 copies of the first issue of the magazine. At 14.5 x 23.5cm, costing 1s. and with three coloured plates per number, Curtis's magazine initially proved popular. Periodicals were cheaper to produce than books because for the same volume of paper that might go into one book, hundreds of periodicals could be produced, and thousands sold because of the much lower price. Subsequent issues and the number of plates that they contained varied across the years, averaging at 45 plates per year as Wilfrid Blunt has pointed out.²⁷ By 1827 the price had risen to 3s.6d. for the 'coloured' version and 3s. for the 'plain' one and fell into John Loudon's 'moderately priced' category.²⁸

²⁴ For a discussion of the agricultural magazines in relation to *GM*, see Simo, p. 22.

²⁵ According to the *Waterloo Directory*, the circulation of the *Farmer's Magazine* was 4,000 (matching the first sales of *GM*), but I have been unable to find the original source for this information.

²⁶ Since 1955 the *Magazine* has reverted to the title of *Curtis's Botanical Magazine*, the name given in 1799 after its founder's death. Hereafter, *BMFG* in brackets and footnotes. No page numbers are given in the volumes I have seen; each plant is, instead, numbered consecutively.

²⁷ See William Blunt and William T. Stearn, *The Art of Botanical Illustration*, new edn (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1994), p. 212.

²⁸ 'Curtis's Botanical Magazine', in Catalogue of Works: British, *GM*, 2 (Jan 1827), 205–6 (205).



Fig. 2.1 Amaryllis (original in colour), *Botanical Magazine*, 4, pl. 129 (1790) © The British Library Board. Shelfmark 678. c. 1-7

Curtis's scientific qualifications as one of the original members of the Linnaean Society (in 1772 he had translated Linnaeus's *Fundamenta Entomologiae*) endowed the *Botanical Magazine* with the scientific authority characteristic of the more expensive learned quarterlies of the Royal Societies. It was cheap, however, in comparison. Spectacular illustrations of plants (Figure 2.1) which would attract subscribers were a substantial part of the magazine's appeal, but Curtis emphasises the scientific value of the journal as all plant representations are 'drawn always from the living plant' and have claim to botanical accuracy.²⁹

However, a relatively high rank of 'Ladies, Gentlemen and Gardeners' is suggested, by a number of elements of the magazine's discourse.³⁰ The frontispiece of the *Botanical Magazine* indicates that each plant will be described according to the Linnaean system of classification of species, the description given partially in Latin, followed by a summary of where the plant originated, times of flowering, and how best to cultivate it. Working knowledge of Latin was not common in England except among educated gentlemen, but because it was still the language of some professions, it was possibly more widely known than in the twenty-first century. The *Botanical Magazine*, then, might be enjoyed in the private library of the wealthy and leisured class of men and women who also visited the gardens of estates outside the metropolis. The latter activity was a part of fashionable life in the period, as Charles Quest-Ritson has shown in his social history of gardens.³¹ Curtis's own gardens, which had moved and expanded from Bermondsey (1773) and Lambeth Marsh (1779), in which he cultivated 'some six thousand species of plants' to Brompton in 1789, may well have been part of this circuit.³² The *Botanical Magazine* therefore provided a much needed source of income achieved through subscription whilst also serving as publicity for his garden.

The cultivation of the 'most Ornamental Foreign Plants' provides further evidence of the wealth of the audience.³³ These foreign species, newly introduced to Britain from the colonies, would have needed additional heat and light to flourish. The costly 'Green-house and the Stove' indicated on the frontispiece, would have been essential to maintain such plants. According to the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1822), 'The orangery is the green-house of the last century, the object of which was to preserve large plants of exotic evergreens during winter, such as the orange-tribe, myrtles, sweet bays, pomegranates, and a few others'.³⁴ By this date the greenhouse had entered the suburban gardens of the middling ranks, but in 1787 it was the equivalent of the courtly orangery. Curtis is referring then, to an

²⁹ *BMFG*, 1 (1787), preface.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, frontispiece.

³¹ Quest-Ritson, *The English Garden: A Social History* (London: Viking, 2001), pp. 147–9.

³² Blunt and Stearn, p. 212.

³³ *BMFG*, 1 (1787), frontispiece.

³⁴ *Ency. Gdng.*, p. 922.

aristocratic building in which luxury food for the table and plants for ornamental display were cultivated.

Several factors contributed to Curtis's decision to enter publishing. Apprenticed to his grandfather, an apothecary, from an early age, he may have had connections with the book trade. As John Feather has indicated, the products sold by the apothecary and the bookseller (of the seventeenth and eighteenth century), have in common centralised production and national distribution – characteristics which distinguished them from most other trades. Moreover, the book trade was important for the advertising of apothecary products as well as its own.³⁵

As a Quaker, Curtis was barred from entering the Law or the Church, but had instead an alternative network of professional connections through which he was able to develop his medical and botanical skills. George Vaux, for example, was another Quaker apothecary to whom Curtis was apprenticed in London, after he left his grandfather. Curtis's family was educated and able to contribute to the production of the *Botanical Magazine*. His brother Thomas managed the publishing, and his cousin Samuel (who married his adopted daughter) edited his 'lectures' on his gardens.³⁶

Benjamin Maund (1790–1863) likewise organised the production of the *Botanic Garden* as a family business more than 30 years after Curtis had started the *Botanical Magazine*. Maund (1790–1863), however, was able to produce his magazine at a relatively low price. Like Curtis's grandfather, he was an apothecary, or chemist (as the term was coming to be known in the nineteenth century), and in a good position to produce, distribute and advertise his products. Situated on the High Street, Bromsgrove, north of Birmingham on a toll road that was better maintained than an ordinary road, and linked Birmingham to Worcester, Maund's products were collected by stagecoach and sent around the country. Alternatively, as a bookseller he was able to distribute them himself. As a printer, bookbinder and stationer, he had access to supplies of paper and to printing equipment that could be used on other projects – the 'mountain' of ephemeral productions – ticket, posters, catalogues and the like, that by this time were familiar to the mass of people.³⁷ This gave him direct control over labour costs in all stages of production, unlike his competitors. However, in common with them, he deployed family members. Two of his daughters, Sarah and Elizabeth, are credited with some of the drawings, reducing the cost of illustrations, although he did pay other illustrators.

The Botanic Garden; Consisting of Highly Finished Representations of Hardy Ornamental Plants Cultivated in Great Britain was launched a year before the

³⁵ See Feather, p. 75.

³⁶ Thomas Curtis's role in the production of the *Magazine* is singled out in the will of William Curtis, and from 1801 it is published by 'T. Curtis' of Blackfriars. See W. Hugh Curtis, *William Curtis, 1746–1799* (Winchester: Warren and Son, 1941).

³⁷ Feather, p. 86.

Gardener's Magazine in 1825.³⁸ The magazine was issued monthly in two sizes – larger, post-quarto (18 x 23cm), at 1s. 6d., and smaller, foolscap quarto, at 1s. The combination of the lower price and the marketing of local ‘hardy’ plants which would not require the expense of the greenhouse for maintenance, generally suggests a middle ranking audience. However, the difference in size and price indicates there were enough buyers within this general group to make up two distinct niche markets.

Maund's readers may have been less educated than those of Curtis's *Botanical Magazine*. Apart from botanical names, there is no Latin in the *Botanic Garden*, and the prose, in some cases, moves away from descriptive botany, exemplified by several references to myths connected to the names of plants. This might suggest that the *Botanic Garden* was intended for family instruction, with women, ‘our fair readers’, educating children.³⁹

Unlike Curtis, Maund does not claim originality for the illustrations as, in the early volumes that I have seen, each plant representation is accredited to an already published source.⁴⁰ With four plant illustrations on one plate, their smaller size obscures any resemblance to the original. The process of copying was cheaper than making original drawings as Curtis did for the *Botanical Magazine*. Maund emphasises instead the quality of execution as ‘talented artists have lent their aid, and every exertion has been made to render them as perfect portraits as the state of the arts, and pecuniary remuneration will admit’.⁴¹

The colour and detail of the plants portrayed distinguish botanical journals (or part works) from less specialised literary periodicals and made them attractive to middle-class and artisan readers for whom the reproduction of coloured images was a novelty. They provided a cheaper alternative books at a time when books, with or without illustration, were very expensive, as cultural historians have noted. William St Clair, for example, analyses the complex relationships of printed texts with producers, distributors, readers and traditions of reading, concludes, ‘Whichever methods of comparison we use, they reassert and reconfirm the same conclusion. In the romantic period the new books of the time were expensive luxuries which could be bought, if at all, only by the richest groups in society’.⁴²

³⁸ *Botanic Garden; Consisting of Highly Finished Representations of Hardy Ornamental Plants Cultivated in Great Britain* (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1825–51). Hereafter, *Botanic Garden* in text. *BG* in footnotes. No pagination is given in the numbers I have seen; each plant description is numbered consecutively.

³⁹ *BG*, 1 (1825), no. 68.

⁴⁰ I deduce this from the name printed at the bottom of each plant description in Maund's magazine. The ‘*Dracocephalum*’, for example, is accredited to ‘Sweet's Fl. Gard' of February 1825, which had been drawn ‘in September last, at the nursery of Messrs. Whiteley, Brames and Milne at Fulham’ (*British Flower Garden*, 1 [1825], no. 93). The periodical was edited by Robert Sweet and referred to by contemporaries under his name, as *Sweet's British Flower Garden*.

⁴¹ *BG*, 1 (1825), preface.

⁴² See St Clair, p. 196.

Most working people in the early nineteenth century were earning no more than 10s. a week, and the middling ranks generally lived on £300 or less a year.⁴³

Expensive botanical books exemplified by Erasmus Darwin's poems, *The Botanic Garden* (1791) and the *Temple of Nature* (1803) were illustrated by Henry Fuseli and hand-coloured. With prices ranging from 12s. to £2 10s., they were beyond the reach of most readers. Topographical books and annuals of history, military scenes and costume featured coloured illustrations and were generally issued in 'parts' that could be collected to form complete volumes, but, again, prices were very high. *The Microcosm of London: Or London in Miniature* was issued in 26 parts at 10s. 6d. per number and as a complete three-volume set in 1810 at 13 guineas.⁴⁴ Eleven years later 750 copies of *Picturesque Tours of the English Lakes* cost £3 13s. 6d. each, or £6 6s. each for 100 copies on elephant paper.⁴⁵ These numbers indicate the rarity and the value of coloured illustrated books. They might well have been bought largely by the connoisseur collector exemplified by Sir Richard Colt Hoare of Stourhead. He held 'topographical gatherings' in his private library to share and discuss his treasures with his peers and with the less wealthy who were interested but could not afford to buy such expensive books themselves.⁴⁶

A similarly wealthy elite could afford to buy the *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London* (1807–48). In 1818, the price per part was fixed at £1 per copy to members and £1 1s. 6d. to the public; it was very expensive but achieved a circulation of approximately 2,000.⁴⁷ This irregularly published collection of papers bears the closest resemblance to the *Gardener's Magazine* in terms of its textual practices such as multiple authorship and journalistic coverage. The title, the *Transactions* indicates the recording of the proceedings within the membership of the 'Horticultural Society', which, until 1830 had consisted of a select group of men engaged in horticulture. Women were not allowed to become members until this date, although from 1824 they had been assigned gallery spaces for the Horticultural Society dinners.

The elaborate calligraphy and the detail of the medallion-like images on the frontispiece (Figure 2.2) for the bound volumes were achieved with the finest printing techniques, which will be discussed in the following chapter. They suggest,

⁴³ See Davidoff and Hall, p. 23. They suggest that a yearly income of around £200 to £300 was sufficient to establish membership of the middle-class for an average family. See also, St Clair, pp. 194–6, for the range of incomes.

⁴⁴ See Martin Hardie, *English Coloured Books* (London: Methuen, 1906), p. 101.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 108–9.

⁴⁶ See Clive Wainwright, 'The Library as Living Room', in *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library, 1620–1920*, (ed.) Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Pauls Bibliographies, 1991), pp. 15–24 (p. 17).

⁴⁷ The number of members listed for 1826, the year that the *Gardener's Magazine* started, was 2,044, (and included John Loudon as he had joined in 1817). This indicates a circulation of at least 2,000.

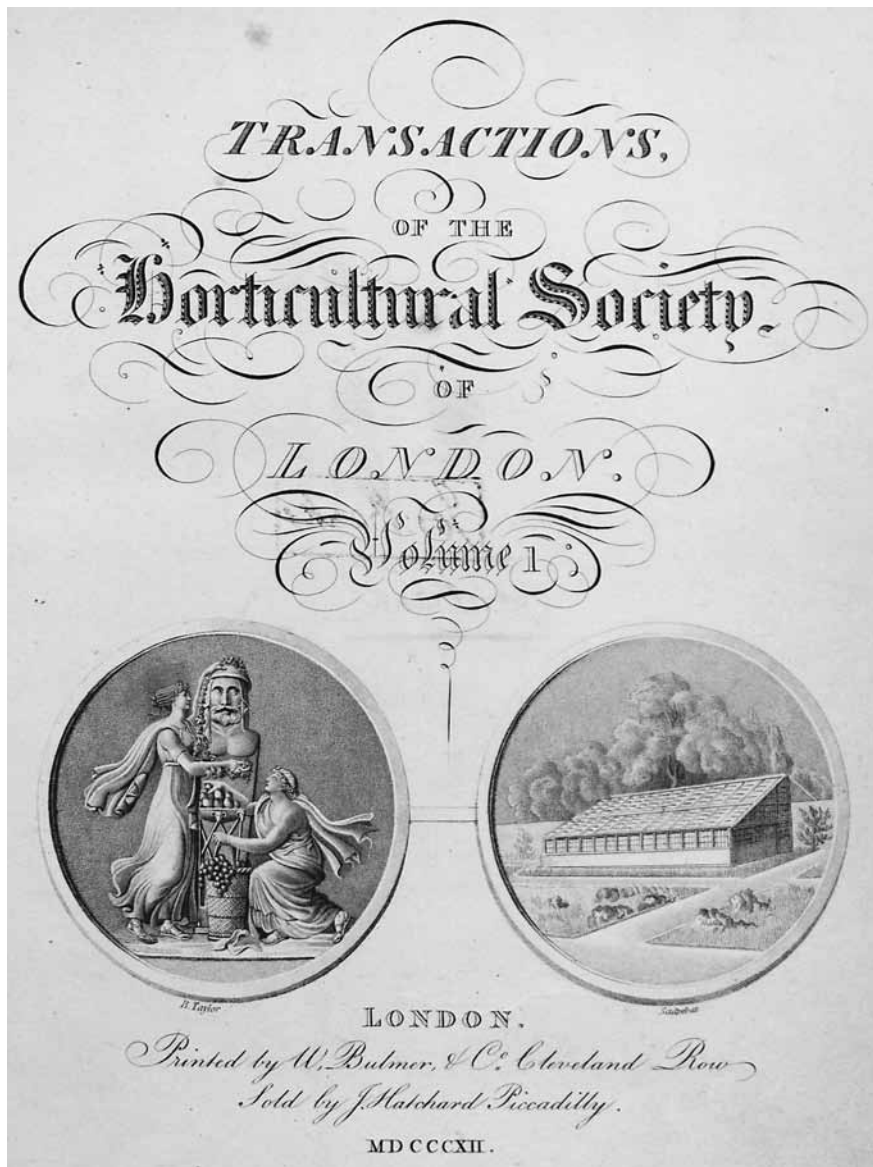


Fig. 2.2

Frontispiece, *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London* (1812) © The British Library Board. Shelfmark Ac. 3371/2

on the one hand, gardens as civilisation with representation of their classical origins and, on the other, gardens as science, with the most recent innovations exemplified by the representation of the glasshouse. The intended readers for this publication, then, were a wealthy and educated elite. In common with other botanical journals, the plates were an important element. The first volume took eight years to complete, with component parts issued on an irregular basis.⁴⁸

However, as one correspondent to the *Gardener's Magazine* complained, 'the *Transactions* [...] is a sealed book to country practitioners; quarto paper, large print, and extensive margin little suit our pockets. The publication, to do service to practical men, must be suited to their means'.⁴⁹ The scientific discourse of this exclusive publication was more extensive than that of botanical journals as it included papers on the construction of hothouses, the forcing of fruit, the use of vegetable matter as manure and the cultivation of onions, but access to it was restricted though its high price. John Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* then, at less than a quarter of the price of the *Transactions*, was the first to disseminate a broad scope of scientific knowledge of the garden to less wealthy readers in periodical form.

The *Gardener's Magazine*

The frontispiece (Figure 2.3) for the bound volumes of the *Gardener's Magazine* is stark in comparison with that of the *Transactions*. It features a medallion as does the *Transactions*, suggesting that the *Magazine* represents a society or club. The logo, however, also shared properties with some of the trade union emblems of the period which included shields and tools of the trade.⁵⁰ The wheelbarrow, spade, hoe and rake might signal the labourer, or the 'practical' gardener.⁵¹ The plumb line, map and compasses, however, suggest the different duties performed by the 'head-gardeners' or 'bailiffs and land-stewards'. The latter is exemplified by the career of Robert Evans (1773–1849), the father of George Eliot, and near contemporary of John Loudon's, who was involved in all aspects of the estate from negotiating with coal-mining businesses to collecting rents and surveying the land and its buildings.⁵² A 'gardener' then, could be a figure of authority in the community.

⁴⁸ Part 1 was issued in 1804, part 2 in 1808, part 3 in 1809, part 4 in 1810 and part 5, not until 1812.

⁴⁹ 'W.R.Y.', 'Remarks on the Disappointments Incident to Orchardists', *GM*, 3 (Feb 1827), 31–2 (32); Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 80.

⁵⁰ Images of Wolverhampton Society of Tin-Plate Workers, 1802, and the Order of Friendly Boilermakers, 1834. See Robert A. Leeson, *United We Stand: An Illustrated Account of Trade Union Emblems* (Bath: Adams and Dart, 1971), p. 14, p. 19.

⁵¹ 'Introduction', *GM*, 1 (Jan 1826), 1–9 (9).

⁵² See Rosemary Ashton, 'Evans, Marian [George Eliot] 1819–1880', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, May 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6794>> [accessed 29 Nov 2012].

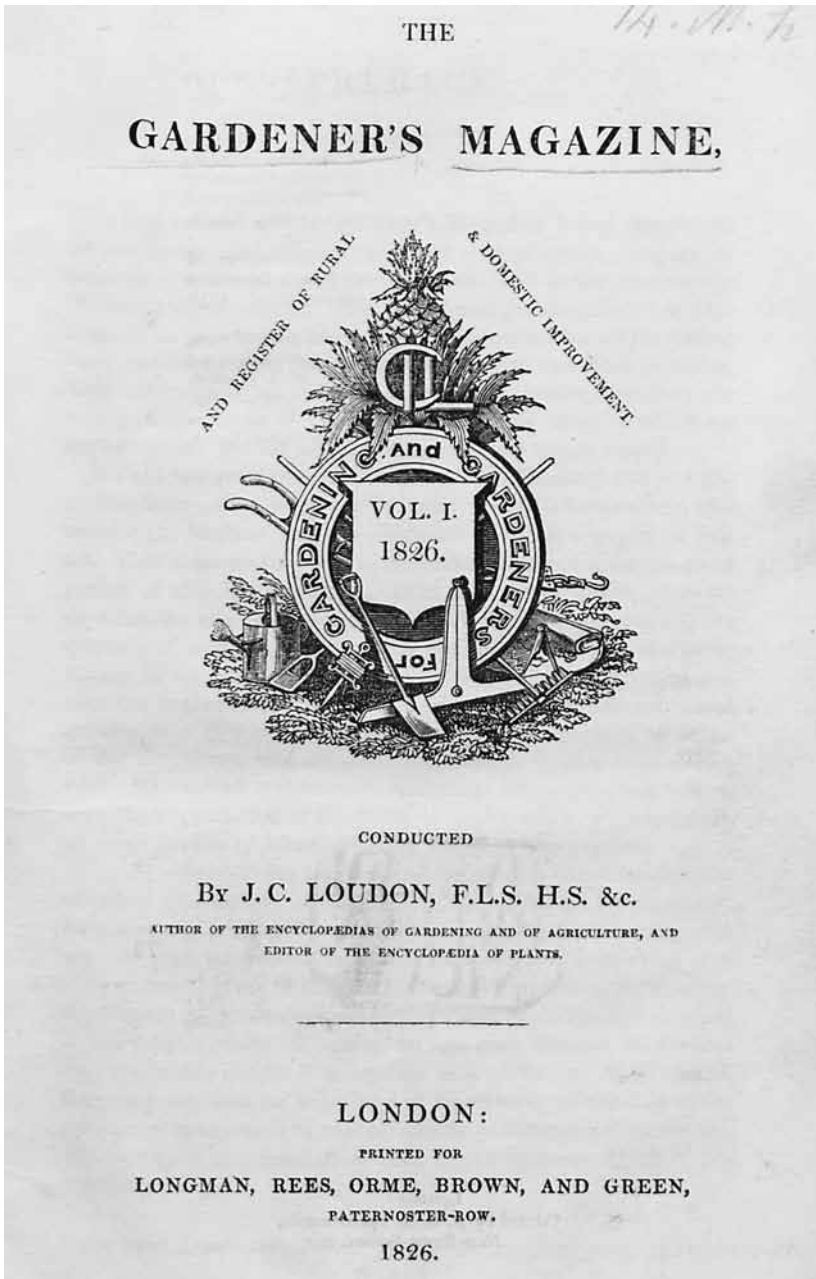


Fig. 2.3

The design is stark in comparison with the frontispiece of the *Transactions*, frontispiece, *Gardener's Magazine* (1826) © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 2200

Alternatively, these tools might indicate those engaged in ‘landscape gardening’, a term first coined by Humphry Repton (1752–1818) to describe his own occupation.

The full title of the journal, the *Gardener's Magazine and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement*, signalled its scope to readers as clearly as its frontispiece. Its focus is on the gardeners – that is, the wide-ranging group of people who are represented by their tools and whose conditions of labour varied, particularly in the context of unstable economic conditions, which effected horticulture as much as agriculture in the period. As Simo has observed, ‘Both commercial and private horticultural collections were being dispersed, some nurserymen went bankrupt, and head gardeners as well as apprentices were losing their jobs’.⁵³ The drive to educate gardeners, already publicised by John Loudon in *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, was a way to raise the status of the profession, and to broaden their skills so that gardeners might find employment in difficult economic circumstances. He also claimed readers amongst the ‘theoretical men’, the scientists and curators of gardens, who might be employed by the universities.⁵⁴

Another category of gardener that the *Magazine* addresses, however, is the ‘amateur’ gardener, and John Loudon universalises this category in his first introduction:

The love of gardening is so natural to man, as to be common to children, and, the enjoyment of a garden so congenial to our ideas of happiness, as to be desired by men of all ranks and professions [...]. The care of a garden is a source of agreeable domestic recreation, and especially to the female sex; to the valetudinarian a garden is a source of health, and to age a source of interest.⁵⁵

Like Curtis before him, and in anticipation of periodicals for a mass audience of the next decades, John Loudon seeks a broad reading audience, more inclusive than that of the gardening professionals indicated by the logo. If the *Magazine* is the product of ‘a social transaction between producer and readers’ as suggested in the introduction to this book, one of the questions of this chapter is to look at the intended audience and the content produced by contributors to see to what degree ‘a process of mutual confirmation’ took place between them.⁵⁶

The term ‘Register’ in the title, at this time implied the collection of news, that is, information bound by time; the *Magazine* will report on the most recent horticultural events and discoveries. In the first introduction, John Loudon confirms that he will be ‘recording everything new as it occurs, and open to the communications of both practical and theoretical men’.⁵⁷ It would also link the

⁵³ Simo, p. 148.

⁵⁴ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (3).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1–9 (1).

⁵⁶ Stuart Hall, ‘Introduction’, in A.C.H. Smith, *Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change, 1935–1965* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1975), p. 22; Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood*, p. 15.

⁵⁷ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (3).

information-rich metropolis, whose gardeners had access to nurseries and whose artisans already had the 3d. *Mechanics' Magazine* to hand, to gardeners of isolated rural areas.⁵⁸ This was the first time that the idea of immediate news was applied to horticultural publications. Different kinds of horticultural discoveries were recorded in the *Transactions* of the Royal Societies, as was the development of new plants in some traditional horticultural journals, but John Loudon was the first to include all this information in a single publication. The *Gardener's Magazine* was initially a quarterly, and then bimonthly for six years; so, in common with the majority of literary and technical journals in the period, it could not effectively convey the most recent events.

One of the origins of the 'Improvement' in the title of the *Magazine*, derived from eighteenth-century Scotland, when in 1723 'The Honourable Society of Improvers' was formed with the practical aim of reforming agricultural practice.⁵⁹ The aesthetic changes to land-use prescribed by Capability Brown and other landscape designers in England were also described as 'improvement'. However, as in Scotland, since the estate was its owner's source of income, any improvement might well have been closely linked to better economic management of the land. Planning improvements to the aesthetics and economy of estates had been John Loudon's first profession and the subject of his early publications. Although 'rural' 'improvement' might fall within this category, 'the business of farming' or the politics of agriculture will not generally be discussed in the magazine.⁶⁰

'Domestic improvement' suggests a more intimate aesthetic and economy of family home and garden. It indicates, perhaps, the importance of home and the possibility of purchasing products for it, at a time when the term was not widely used in the press. The phrase 'improvement and domestic comfort', however, arises in adverts in *The Times* of the 1820s in relation to educational establishments to publicise what they will do for the children in their charge. We have seen in Chapter 1 that the idea the character was formed by the mental and physical environment rather than the will, which is innate, is part of Enlightenment discourse. John Loudon argued for the need of the individual to exert him/herself, but he, and Robert Owen amongst others (as I demonstrate in succeeding chapters) shared a belief in the potency of the environment to shape social behaviour; hence, the significance of 'domestic improvement'.

Finally, with respect to the title, the term 'magazine' was first applied to periodicals in the 1730s, and derived from the idea of a storehouse, a form noted for the diversity of its voices and its genres.⁶¹ The term indicates a miscellany in the

⁵⁸ *Mechanics' Magazine, Museum, Register, Journal and Gazette* (London: 1823–57). The position of the apostrophe in the title of the magazine shifted after a few years of publication from *Mechanic's* to *Mechanics'*. Hereafter, *Mechanics' Magazine* or *MeM* in brackets and footnotes.

⁵⁹ See Berry, p. 11.

⁶⁰ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (8).

⁶¹ See Margaret Beetham, 'Magazines', *DNCJ*, pp. 391–2 (p. 391).

tradition of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817–1905) or the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731–1907), as opposed to the more formal literary tradition of the 'Reviews'. Initially, the *Gardener's Magazine* was marketed as a supplement to John Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, whose relatively modest price of £2 10s., for the completed volume, satisfied middle-class demand.⁶² The encyclopaedia, in the sense of a miscellaneous collection of information, was also the format for magazines intended for a poorer artisan audience exemplified by the 2d. *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* (1822–47) and the 3d. *Mechanics' Magazine* started in 1823. Subsequent magazines intended for artisan readers, such as the *Penny Magazine* (1832–46) edited by Charles Knight, and *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (1832–53), also retained the miscellany format.

In his history of the development of English reading audiences, Jonathan Klancher has argued that the encyclopaedic magazine denied poorer readers access to meaningful debate. He suggests that it 'displaces all discourses of political argument, philosophical speculation, and cultural discrimination one finds in *Blackwood's Magazine* or *Edinburgh Review*'.⁶³ The contributors (and readers) of such reviews, however, were restricted to an educated elite exemplified by 'Christopher North' of *Blackwood's*, who had studied rhetoric and classics at university. Moreover, as Finkelstein has pointed out, Francis Jeffrey the lead editor of the *Review* (1803–29), directed it towards 'unashamedly selective and elitist practices'.⁶⁴

John Loudon, in contrast, sought contributions from readers with different levels of educational attainment:

We invite all those who take an interest in gardening to assist us by their advice, and by the communication of information on every subject connected with the work: we especially invite practical gardeners to come forward and support a work calculated to promote their own honour and advantage. Let them not make as excuses the being unaccustomed to write, want of style, & c. but let them fix on a subject, and begin it at once, and write straight on to the end, regardless of everything but the correctness of their statements. This done once or twice, a good style will come of itself.⁶⁵

⁶² This was the same price as Loudon's *An Encyclopaedia of Agriculture* (1825) and in the range of his *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (1833) at £3 3s. Loudon's *An Encyclopaedia of Plants* (1829) at £4 14s. 6d. was double the price. His *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum* (1838) at £10 for the completed volumes, was the expensive exception partly because of its size and the numbers of plates. This did not sell, and a concise version, without the plates, *An Encyclopaedia of Trees and Shrubs* (1842) at £2 10s., was published (see Ch. 4). In contrast, the £24 price for the boxed set of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1842 suggests purchase by an elite audience or by educational institutions.

⁶³ Klancher, p. 80.

⁶⁴ Finkelstein, 'Introduction', *Print Culture*, p. 7.

⁶⁵ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (9).

The consumers of the *Gardener's Magazine* were comprised of readers and reader contributors. In this sense it looks back to magazines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and to contemporary practice of science journals. It also anticipates perhaps, the reformist periodicals of the 1840s, when, as Brian Maidment has argued, one crucial, albeit implicit, policy to encourage class conciliation, was to give voice to artisan readers.⁶⁶ The contributions of those 'unaccustomed to write' were more in evidence in the back pages of the *Magazine*, although the extent of their contribution may have been less than Loudon hoped (see below).⁶⁷ As well as linking different imagined communities of readers, the combination of different authorial voices of the *Gardener's Magazine*, ranging from the expert to the amateur, male and female, wealthy and humble, offered readers greater choice in what to read, in what order and what to do with what they read.⁶⁸ This inclusive democratic style was a key aspect of the *Magazine's* continued circulation and can be seen in the make-up of the genre of its departments.

Readers and Contributors: Genre in the Departments

The *Gardener's Magazine* followed the format set by the *Farmer's Magazine* and by contemporary 'literary' magazines exemplified by the *Monthly Magazine*, the *New Monthly Magazine*, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The 'Original Papers' of the *New Monthly Magazine* corresponds to the same department in the *Monthly Magazine* (after 1826) and to the 'Original Communications' department of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (from July 1822) and the *Gardener's Magazine*. The material consisted of articles, supposedly especially written for the *Magazine*, that convey new ideas and information and corresponds with the features department of twenty-first-century magazines.

The second genre of the departments was 'Reviews', which contained reviews of books, papers and periodicals recently published and provided publicity for such works, including those produced by the editor, his family and friends. Scandal arose in 1814, when it emerged that Henry Colburn, proprietor and editor of the *New Monthly*, had paid other periodicals to publish favourable 'paid paragraphs' about his publications, written by his in-house staff, under 'Reviews'. Indeed, it has been suggested that he set up the *New Monthly*, the *Literary Gazette* and bought half-shares in the *Athenaeum*, in order to ensure good notices for his publications.⁶⁹ In the *New Monthly* such material came under 'Original Papers'.

⁶⁶ See Maidment, 'Magazines of Popular Progress and the Artisans', *VPR*, 17:3 (Fall 1984), 83–94 (89).

⁶⁷ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (9).

⁶⁸ See Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, (ed.) Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 19–32 (p. 26).

⁶⁹ See John Sutherland, 'Henry Colburn Publisher', *PH*, 19 (1986), 59–84 (62).

Finally, the ‘Historical Chronicle’ and ‘Minor Correspondence’ of the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, the ‘Monthly [...] Reports’ of the *Monthly Magazine*,⁷⁰ and the ‘Historical Register’ of the *New Monthly Magazine* correspond to the ‘Miscellaneous Intelligence’ department of the *Gardener’s Magazine*. This is the most date-stamped part of the *Magazine* and corresponds with the ‘News’ departments of twenty-first-century magazines. ‘Miscellaneous Intelligence’ was generally printed in small font, and contained articles of more immediate interest often sourced and acknowledged to be from other journals.

All of the publications mentioned contained a list of what was included at the front of each bound volume, but the contents list for the *Gardener’s Magazine* was the most detailed. Subjects were listed at the beginning of each volume with three categories ‘Original Communications’, ‘Reviews’ and ‘Miscellaneous Intelligence’. This was followed by lists of names and illustrations, and, at the back of the volume, a general index (dropped from 1835 to 1841). The three categories were positioned in the *Magazine* in the above order and remained consistent, although their relative percentage in every volume over the years varied considerably, particularly after the *Magazine* became a monthly. Apart from these departments of genre, new departments replaced old ones, as John Loudon refined and expanded the contents. The *Magazine* has two stages after its 1826 quarterly period, as a bimonthly from 1827–34 and as a monthly from 1834–44.

Articles that were listed under ‘Original Communications’ were generally written by experts and professionals. John Loudon became a full-time writer when physical injury prevented him from farming, but when the opportunity arose he also worked as a landscape designer. Likewise, the majority of writers for the *Magazine* had other occupations, as gardeners of high and low status, or ‘amateurs’, including vicars, doctors and members of the landed gentry. Some contributors to the ‘Original Communications’ department were eminent professionals in related fields, exemplified by Joseph Harrison, head gardener at Wortley Park who also founded another horticultural journal, the *Floricultural Cabinet* (see below). A number contributed to other journals as well; Archibald Gorrie, Christie Duff and James Barnet, for example, wrote for the *Transactions*.

The presentation of articles in the form of a letter with a title and named author at the top and at the bottom, with either an address and/or a date implies a personal connection with the editor. Some of the contributors such as Paxton were personally known to John Loudon, but probably most were not. This presentation, and the inclusiveness on which it is predicated is in contrast to the literary serials that predate the *Gardener’s Magazine*, such as the *Edinburgh Review* or *Blackwood’s* and magazines like the *New Monthly*. In these periodicals, as Klancher has argued, a distancing of the audience has taken place: ‘No longer a society of readers and writers, the journal represented itself as an institution blending writer, editor and publisher in what could only appear to be an essentially

⁷⁰ The ‘Monthly Medical Report’, ‘Monthly Agricultural Report’, ‘Monthly Commercial Report’ and so on.

authorless text'.⁷¹ His argument has been seen as a simplification by more recent critics because of the absence of reference to the text as a material object – particularly the intellectual context that influences its publication.⁷² In this chapter I demonstrate that political and ideological movements (like utilitarianism and nationalism), domestic ideology, theories of education and the establishment of the Royal Societies, all influenced the publication of the *Gardener's Magazine*. I would argue, nevertheless, that Klancher's formulation has value as a description of 'Reviews' in relation to the less formal miscellanies. The latter, exemplified by the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Monthly Magazine* in the period, contained articles which, beneath their title, addressed 'The Editor' or 'Mr Urban' (editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*) and were signed and dated.⁷³ Most articles are signed pseudonymously or with initials, so that while the identity of the writer is not clear, vestiges of connection between writer and reader remain. It might be that in some cases, the 'magazine', as opposed to the literary review, was more old-fashioned and looked back to the 'society of readers and writers' of the journals of the eighteenth century, referred to by Klancher.

It was part of John Loudon's editorial strategy to name his contributors and to give credit where it was due.⁷⁴ This democratic process may have been connected to payments or, rather, to the lack of them, for contributors. How and whether he paid contributors I have been unable to determine except on his own evidence.⁷⁵ The naming of contributors might also be linked to the technical nature of the *Gardener's Magazine* because as Brock (1980) has argued in relation to commercial science journals, financial remuneration was not typical, in the way it had become for 'literary' journals of the period: 'the rewards mainly came from being known to write, or to edit, such and such a journal, and from the altruistic motive that this was an honourable way to advance knowledge'.⁷⁶ More recent critics have noted

⁷¹ Klancher, p. 51.

⁷² See Darnton, 'What Is the History of Books?', in Finkelstein and McCleery (eds), *The Book History Reader*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 9–26 (p. 11).

⁷³ In the 'Original Communications' section of the *Gentleman's Magazine* every article is prefixed by the editor's name before and after, while the name of the writer is not always clear as this is indicated only with initials or pseudonyms.

⁷⁴ Not all contributors are named. Many are pseudonymous or anonymous. Nevertheless, a higher proportion of the contributors to *GM* are identifiable than in the literary magazines of the period that I have seen.

⁷⁵ He complains that the expense of printing from an original manuscript or illustration is 'treble' that of 'printing or engraving from articles already engraved or printed' ('Paxton's Magazine of Botany and Register of Flowering Plants', *GM*, 10 [May 1834], 230–32 [232]). When soliciting articles, publication in the journal is generally the reward rather than money.

⁷⁶ William H. Brock, 'The Development of Commercial Science Journals in Victorian Britain', in *Development of Science Publishing in Europe*, (ed.) A. J. Meadows (Amsterdam: I.P. Elsevier Science Publishers, 1980), pp. 95–122 (p. 97).

that as the century progressed, pay for science journalists remained low and most held other posts.⁷⁷

Articles by foreign botanists and gardeners in the 'Original Communications' department and extracts published under 'Reviews' show John Loudon developing a global network of gardeners exchanging ideas across the world. The appearance of similar magazines, the *Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India* (1821), *Annales de la Société d'Horticulture de Paris* (1827), *L'Horticulteur Belge* (1833) and the *Allgemeine Gartenzeitung* (1833) were all welcomed by John Loudon, as Desmond has noted.⁷⁸ The lead article of April 1839 is a translation by 'J.L.', Jane Loudon (John Loudon's sister), from *Garten Zeitung* of 1837, 'On the Extension and Use of Cacti' by Professor Zuccarini, Subcurator of the Royal Botanic Garden at Munich. The translation authenticates gardening as a profession with international status, but the date of the *Gardener's Magazine* article, two years after the original was published, also shows that immediacy was not a factor for inclusion in 'Original Communications'.

In contrast, 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' was the most time-bound part of the *Magazine*. Appearing at the end of each number and printed in a smaller font than the main body of the text, it was also the most 'open' part of the journal. The less educated and the amateur could voice their points of view, pose questions and criticise under 'Queries and Answers' or 'Retrospective Criticism', subcategories of the 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' department. The sense of dialogue and conflict created by the juxtaposition of readers' contributions with those of recognised experts was a feature of the cheap, miscellany, format and technical periodicals such as the *Mechanics' Magazine*.⁷⁹ Readers' queries were not unusual in other liberal periodicals, although they generally constituted a much smaller proportion of these magazines' contents and were mostly anonymous or pseudonymous. They did not form a part of horticultural periodicals generally, until the advent of a similar publication in 1831. John Loudon argues for the superiority of the *Magazine* in relation to elite scientific publications in this respect: 'A magazine has this great advantage over collections of papers in what are called *Transactions*, that it admits of controversial discussion, which the latter do not; and therefore false doctrine, once admitted into such collections, stands there as true'.⁸⁰ His argument fits with the view of media historian Andrew King, who suggests that the *Transactions*, generally, form 'a closed discourse community with its own codes, narratives and practices'.⁸¹

⁷⁷ See James Mussell, 'Science and Journalism', *DNCJ*, pp. 559–60.

⁷⁸ See Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 81.

⁷⁹ James Mussell, 'Science Popularization', *DNCJ*, pp. 560–61.

⁸⁰ Loudon's response to 'An Enemy of Deceit', 'On certain Frauds imposed by Correspondents upon the Readers of the Transactions of Horticultural Societies', *GM*, 8 (June 1832), 289–91 (291).

⁸¹ Andrew King, 'Transactions', *DNCJ*, p. 637.

The time-bound nature of ‘Miscellaneous Intelligence’ made it the appropriate space for the publications of some of John Loudon’s plans for changes in society which he perceived as urgent and topical. These are exemplified by his radical plans for libraries in 1827, a ‘Catalogue of Books for a Garden Library’ (*GM*, 2 [January 1827], 109–20), and education, ‘Parochial Institutions; or an Outline of a Plan for a National Educational Establishment, suitable to the Children of all Ranks, from Infancy to the Age of Puberty’ in 1829 (*GM*, 5 [December 1829], 692–704).⁸² References to the disestablishment of the national churches included in pamphlets printed separately in Paris (1828) and London (1829) were removed from the version published in the *Gardener’s Magazine*.⁸³ This may have been a pragmatic move by John Loudon to avoid offending Christian consumers of the *Magazine*. However, three years later, in 1833, citing current Parliamentary debate and Roebuck’s speech on the matter, John Loudon continues to promote a national secular system of education for all:

We are perfectly satisfied that no system of national education that combines religious instruction with secular learning will ever be effective in attaining the grand project of national education; that is, of educating the *whole* population; for the obvious reason, that the whole can never be brought to think in the same manner on religious subjects.⁸⁴

The suggestion that religion is divisive and should therefore not be part of a national education system was radical, given the still general assumption of the coexistence of education with religious principles, a year later, in 1834, as we have seen in Chapter 1. The subject was topical, as the matter was being debated in Parliament and widely reported in the press. While Glenny and Rennie, John Loudon’s Tory critics, might argue that the *Gardener’s Magazine* was not an appropriate place for educational discourse, there was a tradition for it in agricultural journals. More than 30 years before, in 1797, Jeremy Bentham referred to education in Arthur Young’s *Annals of Agriculture* in relation to the poor.⁸⁵ The connection in both publications was between the land and the people who lived and worked on it.

Bentham’s own quarterly, the *Westminster Review*, started in 1824, two years before the *Gardener’s Magazine*, was openly secular, and consequently had a limited readership. For John Loudon, the placing of radical ideas at the back of the

⁸² For titles of articles by John Loudon original capitalisation has been retained, as for all articles published in the *GM*.

⁸³ ‘Parochial Institutions [...] as a Substitute for the National Churches of England, Scotland and Ireland’ was dropped from the title when published in the *GM*. See Simo, p. 11.

⁸⁴ ‘National Education’, *GM*, 9 (Dec 1833), 696.

⁸⁵ Bentham’s outline of a work entitled ‘Pauper Management Improved’ ‘contained the résumé of a chapter on the education of pauper children’ (the substance of the chapter is to be found in Bentham’s Poor Law manuscripts), (*Chrestomathia*, [ed.] M. J. Smith and W. H. Burston [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983], pp. xxvi–xxvii).

Magazine may have been a deliberate strategy to avoid a comparable reduction in his audience. However, the successful *Monthly Magazine*, also addressing the wider public, openly advocated religious toleration with concern for the poor as might be expected from the group of liberal Unitarians who ran it.⁸⁶

As topical as education and as widely covered by the press (and almost as contentious) was the construction of the Thames Tunnel, a pedestrian subway which connected Rotherhithe to Wapping in East London in order to shorten the journey of the working people of London across the Thames. Designed by Brunel, it was a feat of engineering started in 1825 and completed with mixed funding by 1843. Illustrated in the *Mechanics' Magazine* of 1823 and the *Monthly Magazine* of 1824, amongst other publications, its purpose was debated in *The Times* from its inception.⁸⁷ In the 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' department of the *Gardener's Magazine* of March 1828, John Loudon campaigned in favour of the tunnel, arguing that gardeners should play their part towards funding its construction:

The idea of accomplishing a great national undertaking, at a penny a head, volunteered by men, women and children of all ranks, is sublime. The man who subscribes to a public work for the first time in his life, is using the means for giving a new impulse to the higher order of human feelings. He is adopting a course calculated to impress on the mind the consciousness of sentiments far above those which have reference merely, or chiefly, to self-preservation or advancement in the world; and which in man, at a certain stage of his progress to intellectual enjoyment, must be hailed as a new sense. [...] It is elevating to feel ourselves connected with our country and mankind by sentiments common to great minds in all ages; and it is ennobling to reflect that the poorest of us may participate in these sentiments as well as the richest.⁸⁸

The movement from the detail of the humble 'a penny a head' out to the grand scale of 'our country' is a rhetorical device frequently used by John Loudon. Recalling the fervour of Shelley, he applies the term 'sublime' in relation to the spirit of cooperation, and to a practical if challenging project. If all ranks contribute, the 'great' undertakings of the public sphere are made accessible to the poor; they will be part of the nation in an 'ennobling' sense (whatever the amount of their contribution), rather than the servants, or sons of toil, to whom 'North', and the Tory press refer. Loudon suggests that this is both 'a new order of human feeling' and looks back to 'great minds in all ages'. He argues then, for a new sense of nation forged through cooperation.

Alternatively, 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' was the space for 'original' material which could not be fitted in at the front of the *Magazine*. This increased after it became a monthly in 1834 with a reduced number of pages. When John Loudon became publisher as well as editor and proprietor of the *Magazine* after 1839,

⁸⁶ See Sullivan, p. 316.

⁸⁷ *MeM* (Sept 1823), 65; *MM* (May 1824), opp. 287; *The Times*, 1823–43.

⁸⁸ 'The Thames Tunnel', *GM*, 3 (March 1828), 467–8 (468); Simo, pp. 250–51.

some of the articles for 'Original communications' were also printed in small font as a way of retaining volume of content and keeping page numbers down. 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' was also the place for inserts from other periodicals and newspapers containing domestic and international news on gardening, and extending to culture and progressive politics. The inclusion of international news formed part of John Loudon's editorial strategy to create a global network of gardeners and gardening in parallel with the scientific community.

Obituaries were another feature of the 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' department. Biography and obituary were staple elements of contemporary general magazines, and their subjects were well known for their achievements. The sequence of obituaries for David Douglas (1799–1834) that featured in the *Gardener's Magazine* between April 1835 and June 1842 exemplifies this kind of obituary. Several accounts of Douglas's achievements, the manner of his death (he fell into a bull trap dug by the Sandwich [Hawaiian] islanders while in pursuit of plants) were circulated in both the 'Original Communications' and the 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' departments. In November 1836 his portrait was featured and his achievements recorded in French and German as well as English (Figure 2.4). These articles and news items were part of an international campaign on the part of the Magazine to help fund a monument to Douglas's memory initiated by the Perthshire Royal Horticultural Society. The monument was finally completed in Douglas's birthplace in Scone by October 1841, and in June the following year readers who had subscribed 1s. or more were offered a free copy of a lithograph showing its design and a portrait of Douglas, which was reproduced as a wood engraving in the Magazine. John Loudon's activity in relation to Douglas reflects his desire to advance the position of gardening as a profession and as a science, while promoting the idea of a nation in which landscape, and those who shape it, share equal status with those who own and defend it.⁸⁹ He identifies the specific contribution of Scotland and the figure of the gardener as part of the development of a modern British nation. The campaign, like the competition to establish 'garden libraries' (see below) and to help fund the construction of the Thames Tunnel, shows how he, in common with other magazine editors, could co-opt his audience to act together and make changes.

In contrast, however, to other journals of the period, the obituaries of the *Gardener's Magazine* were socially wide-ranging. Charles Davidson, for example, had been a 'very good gardener and of an orderly, regular and respectable conduct', who, 'never having been fortunate in the world [...] died exceedingly poor'. He is reported to have 'dropped down dead at his own door, in the presence of his wife

⁸⁹ He compared the achievements of Douglas with those of the Duke of Marlborough whose military campaigns against the French a century earlier had been decisive, 'Proposals for erecting a Monument to the Late Mr. David Douglas', *GM*, 12 (July 1836), 384–6 (385–6).

602 *Biographical Notice of the late Mr. David Douglas,*

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ART. I. *Biographical Notice of the late Mr. David Douglas, F.L.S., the Traveller and Botanist; with a Proposal to erect a Monument to his Memory; and a List of the Plants which he introduced.* Drawn up from various Communications by the CONDUCTOR of the *Gardener's Magazine*.

IN submitting to the botanical and horticultural world a proposal for erecting a monument to the memory of the late Mr. David Douglas, it seems proper to commence by giving a brief notice of his public services, in order to show his claims to public gratitude. This we have chiefly extracted from authentic accounts, published in the *Gardener's Magazine* (vols. xi. and xii.), and have since submitted for approval to Mr. Douglas's patrons and personal friends.

En proposant au public des botanistes et des horticulteurs d'ériger un monument à la mémoire de feu M. David Douglas, il paraît convenient de commencer par donner un bref aperçu des services rendus par lui au public pour prouver ses droits sur la reconnaissance publique. Nous avons extrait cela pour la plupart des notes authentiques communiquées dans les volumes xi. et xii. du "*Gardener's Magazine*;" et depuis nous avons soumis cette notice à l'approbation

Indem wir dem Publicum der Botaniker und Horticulturisten vorschlagen, ein Monument zum Andenken des verstorbenen Hrn. David Douglas zu errichten, scheint es zweckmässig damit zu beginnen, einen kurzen Bericht über seine Verdienste um das Publikum zu geben, um seine Ansprüche auf öffentliche Dankbarkeit darzuthun. Diesen haben wir meist aus den authentischen Nachrichten ausgezogen, welche im Bande XI und XII des "*Gardener's Magazine*" mit-

Fig. 2.4

One of a number of obituaries for David Douglas featured in the *Magazine* and part of a campaign to enlist support for a monument in his memory, *Gardener's Magazine*, 12 (Nov 1836), 602 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 2200

and child'. John Loudon uses the pathos of this obituary and others, to publicise the needs of the family in order to solicit donations for them.⁹⁰

The 'Reviews' department was not a regular feature of the *Gardener's Magazine* as it was for its literary counterparts. Its arbitrary appearance throughout the duration of the *Magazine* indicates a space factor, rather than the operations of the book trade. The title 'Catalogue of Works on Gardening, Agriculture, Botany, Rural Architecture, &c', within 'Reviews' indicates the range of books featured. Publications on social and political issues were also included. A small proportion concerned foreign language publications, confirming the valuable connections that the *Magazine* was building up with continental gardeners. It was here that John Loudon puffed his own work and that of his immediate family.⁹¹

Another editorial strategy which publicised his own works and provided 'filler' if needed, was to add, generally to 'Reviews', material which formed 'detached supplements' to works already published. The title of one such supplement explains, 'Arboricultural Notices, Collected from Various Sources, Intended as Supplementary to, or Corrective of, the Information in the "Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum"'.⁹² Instead of waiting to buy a new edition, information can be found 'with the great advantage of obtaining it as soon as it comes to our knowledge'.⁹³ Supplements attached to the *Magazine* were also published for the *Encyclopaedia of Agriculture*, *Hortus Britannicus* and the *Encyclopaedia of Plants*. Once again, John Loudon demonstrates his economy of print through the expansion of forms of publication. Announcements of future projects were also included within 'Reviews'.⁹⁴

Generally, published in 'Reviews' or the 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' departments are John Loudon's reviews of other horticultural periodicals. In most cases he informed readers about what was available for different interests and incomes.⁹⁵ In a survey that included Rennie's new *Magazine of Botany and Gardening* (1833–37), referred to in Chapter 1, John Loudon comments, 'We do not think it necessary to give an opinion of the merits of the work. Let the public purchase it, and judge for themselves'.⁹⁶ This detachment, to the extent of

⁹⁰ *GM*, 5 (Feb 1829), 112.

⁹¹ For example, John Loudon favourably reviewed Jane Webb Loudon's *Instructions in Gardening for Ladies*, *GM*, 16 (July 1840), 350–52.

⁹² *GM*, 15 (March 1829), 118–31 (118).

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ For example, the future appearance of the *Arboretum Britannicum* is announced under 'Reviews' in *GM*, 6 (Oct 1830), 582.

⁹⁵ For example, in his review of Paxton's *Magazine of Botany* he recommends the *Botanical Register*, the *Botanical Magazine* and *Sweet's British Flower Garden* to those gardeners of a scientific persuasion, and the *Floricultural Cabinet* (see below) to those lacking in botanical knowledge and the less well-off, see *GM*, 10 (May 1834), 232.

⁹⁶ 'Rennie, James, in 'Catalogue of Works', *GM*, 9 (June 1833), 351–2 (351); Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 89.

encouraging readers to spend money on a rival publication, is however, followed with the hope that his *Magazine* is 'equal if not superior' to all its imitators who are 'suckers'.⁹⁷ The open forum for the discussion of other horticultural periodicals might, then, persuade readers that the *Gardener's Magazine* was the best of all. John Loudon's degree of restraint was, nevertheless, unusual for the period.

Secular Worlds: Departments of the 'Magazine'

Given the miscellaneous origins of the magazine format, John Loudon made strenuous attempts to organise its material in order to guide readers. The organisation of an encyclopaedia by alphabetic order, he suggested, had the potential to fragment intellectual connections; within the *Magazine* he assembled a series of linked departments.⁹⁸ The principle and most consistent departments of the *Gardener's Magazine* apart from those delineating the genres of the text and the 'General Subject' are the four categories of 'Horticulture', 'Arboriculture', 'Landscape-Gardening' and 'Floriculture'. These categories featured in the third part of *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening* and are indicative of John Loudon's secular and scientific approach to the subject. The content of the departments changed over time; the list was refreshed by the introduction of new categories and the disappearance of old ones. A periodical, by its nature, is separated by time, and its parts are fragmentary, which might be why John Loudon appears to struggle over the years to categorise the contents. Between 1835 and 1841, in all the copies that I have looked at, the alphabetical index placed at the back of the annual volume disappears altogether. The contents of *Gardener's Magazine* at the front of each bound volume are however, the most classified that I have seen.

In the early numbers of the *Gardener's Magazine*, articles ranging from reviews of estates and their architecture, experiments on the cultivation of fruits and vegetables and descriptions of the latest garden implements, run alongside reports to and from gardeners on their pay and living conditions. Within two years John Loudon breaks up this miscellany into categories, the first of which, the 'General Subject', is positioned at the top of the list of contents for each annual volume within 'Original Communications'. This department remained heterogeneous in content, and, after 1835, in the absence of an alphabetical index, it was subcategorised.⁹⁹

Landscape, as seen on John Loudon's numerous 'tours' around Britain and Europe, provides the focus for an alternative materialist or secular account of class

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ 'Prospectus for new edition of *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening*' (London: Longman, Dec 1833).

⁹⁹ Examples of subcategories of the 'General Subject' listed in the contents pages of the annual volumes: 1836 – 'Historical and Geographical', 'Science of Gardening'; 1840 – 'Historical and Statistical', 'Historical, Critical and Descriptive', 'Science of Vegetable Culture', 'Garden Structures and Instruments'.

and of nation. Listed under 'General Subject' (unless space determined otherwise), the tours build from the geology of the area up through to contemporary social geography. In a 'General Results of a Gardening Tour' (from the Midlands to lowland Scotland) that extended over several numbers from 1831 to 1832, a variety of subjects are grouped together. The account of December 1831 includes 'Geology', 'Climate', 'Indigenous animals', 'Roads', 'Railroads', 'Canals', 'Towns', 'Villages', 'Large Public Cemeteries', 'Lancastrian, National and Infant Schools', 'Cooperative societies', 'Inns and Public -houses', 'Agriculture', 'Planting', 'Palace Residences', 'Villa Residences' and 'Cottage Gardens'.¹⁰⁰ The process of listing them has the effect of giving them equal merit, and of shaping them into a coherent 'scientific' whole. John Loudon's selection of topics was, however, contentious, exemplified by his choice of secular 'Lancastrian schools' as opposed to those which followed the Anglican-based Madras system.

Under the 'Indigenous Animals' entry, John Loudon comments, 'we may however, shortly, notice, the condition of the animal man in different districts of the country through which we have passed'.¹⁰¹ 'Man', then, is classified as an indigenous animal, generally represented by artisans rather than the middle classes. However, in some manufacturing districts, he 'is more on a level with his employer, in the point of his intelligence'.¹⁰² In the context of pre-Reform Bill agitation, the 'intelligence' of the working man noted by John Loudon as part of scientific discourse suggests that he is promoting the right of the working man to vote. This fits with the ethos of the 'Education of Gardeners', confirming his reputation as a radical. Noting the shared sense of purpose of masters and working men in Birmingham, he comments, 'if ever a grand, national movement should take place, it will probably be made, and made with effect by the men of Birmingham'.¹⁰³ This was a prescient remark, as seven years later it was in Birmingham that the People's Charter was drawn up by Francis Place and William Lovett, in response to the Reform Laws and the Poor Law Amendment Acts.

The scale and subject of the tours vary. One of the longest was John Loudon's trip to France and Germany that threaded through several numbers over three years from 1829 to 1831. The splitting of topics between numbers was routine editorial practice in periodicals, as it might have motivated the interested reader to purchase the next number, as commentators on the form have pointed out.¹⁰⁴ On a smaller scale were the tours of large estates in Britain, 'Garden Tours', visits

¹⁰⁰ 'General Results of a Gardening Tour, during July in the Present Year, by a Circuitous Route from Manchester, by Chester and Liverpool, to Dumfries', *GM*, 7 (Dec 1831), 513–57.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 519.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* See Howard Leathlean, 'Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* and the Morality of Landscape', *Ecumene*, 4.1 (1997), 86–107, for a discussion of Loudon's political views.

¹⁰⁴ See Brock, 'Commercial Science Journals', (p. 97); Beetham, 'Theory of the Periodical', p. 26.

to cottage gardens and to public gardens for the living and the dead. Generally critical of the neglected estates of English aristocrats, in the late 1830s and early 1840s John Loudon was excited by the development of transport to the cities of London, Paris, Sheffield and Glasgow.

The expansion of the railways did not go unnoticed in the *Gardener's Magazine* even though Loudon acknowledges that the topic may not be within its remit.¹⁰⁵ George Stephenson's steam train the 'Rocket' proved its efficiency in 1829, the Liverpool to Manchester route was completed in 1830 and, between 1839 and 1841 the backbone of a national English railway network was constructed.¹⁰⁶ In May 1839 Loudon, a passenger on the recently completed London to Sheffield Line (1838), enthuses upon the series of contrasts that the traveller experiences moving through space 'in rapid transit',¹⁰⁷ between 20 to 30 miles per hour – around three times the speed of a traditional stagecoach:¹⁰⁸

We cannot, however, help expressing our admiration at the science exhibited in these works [...]. The stupendous cuttings in some places, the high embankments in others, the lofty bridges crossing the road every now and then, the tunnels in which all is darkness, and the beautiful and extensive views from the embankments and viaducts, render this road [...] full of variety'.¹⁰⁹

The development of a scientific approach was central to Loudon's theory of the Gardenesque, as was the experience of 'variety'; the latter was part of current aesthetic discourse (see Chapter 4). The compression of the experience, however, anticipates, perhaps, the *montage* (and artificiality) of filmic perception; 'the juxtaposition of the most disparate images into one unit', as Wolfgang Schivelbusch, in his pioneering study of the cultural impact of the railways, has suggested.¹¹⁰

This compression of visual sensation was noted across a range of the press at the time: the elite *Quarterly Review* (1809–1967) refers to the 'magic lantern' effect when passing another train.¹¹¹ But most compelling is the 'gradual annihilation [...] of that space and of those distances' across the globe.¹¹² A correspondent

¹⁰⁵ 'Recollections of a Tour chiefly between London and Sheffield, made during the last three Weeks of May, 1839' *GM*, 15 (Aug 1839), 433–63 (436).

¹⁰⁶ See Peter Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 116.

¹⁰⁷ *GM*, 15 (Aug 1839), 433–63 (436).

¹⁰⁸ See Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Anselm Hollo (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), p. 41, p. 193. Contemporaries agreed, 'the application of the locomotive engine [...] has suddenly trebled, even in England, the speed of our ordinary conveyance for travellers, 'Railroads in Ireland', *QR*, 63 (Jan 1839), 1–60 (12).

¹⁰⁹ *GM*, 15 (Aug 1839), 433–63 (436).

¹¹⁰ Schivelbusch, p. 48.

¹¹¹ *QR*, 63 (Jan 1839), 1–60 (14).

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 22.

to the cheap 3d. *Mechanics' Magazine* was among the first to refer to 'The annihilation of space by time'.¹¹³ Support for development of the railways was, generally, strong in cheaper press publications. The *Penny Magazine*, for example, incorporated Dionysius Lardener's published lectures on the steam engine.¹¹⁴ The horrors of injuries caused in railway accidents were well documented, but, while the drama of the accident attracted readers, the railways themselves shifted the papers geographically and expanded their readership; hence, as Peter Sinnema has suggested, the ambiguity of their coverage in the expensive 6d. *Illustrated London News* (1842–1889).¹¹⁵

More than 25 years later, as, perhaps, the novelty of the railways was receding, John Ruskin (1819–1900) suggests that the experience of travel is commodified as a person is transported from place to place like a 'parcel'.¹¹⁶ He argues that increased speed alters our perception, depriving the things we look at of their 'contemplative value'.¹¹⁷ Loudon, however, in the *Gardener's Magazine* and in his other publications, publicised and endorsed the development of the railways.¹¹⁸ Another aspect that he championed was railway architecture: on a tour in the north of England in 1842 he notes the 'freedom from prejudice' demonstrated by the engineers designing bridges and railway buildings leading to the development of new architectural forms.¹¹⁹ His excitement fits with his fascination with modernity; the democratisation of travel and the loosening of ties to tradition and place. This was how Thomas Arnold (1795–1845) saw it. He was a near contemporary of Loudon, and like him (for most of the 1830s) vilified by the Tory press. When the railway from Birmingham to London was extended to Rugby (1838) he commented, 'I rejoice to see it, and to think that feudality is gone for ever'.¹²⁰

¹¹³ *MeM*, 33 (5 Dec 1840), 518.

¹¹⁴ On support for the railways from the imprints of the SDUK, see Michael Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 69–72.

¹¹⁵ Sinnema argues that, in general, pictorial representation was 'reassuring', while the written text focused on the detail and possible catastrophe (pp. 116–7). See Ralph Harrington on the vulnerability felt by greater numbers of people as railways expanded and accidents take place nearby, no longer 'out there' (underground mining or at sea), and in everyday life, in 'Railway Safety and Railway Slaughter', *JVC*, 8.2 (Autumn 2003), 187–207 (194).

¹¹⁶ Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, 3, *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, (ed.) Edward T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, Library Edition, 39 vols (London: George Allen: 1903–12), vol 5, p. 370.

¹¹⁷ Schivelbusch, p. 62.

¹¹⁸ See the *Architectural Magazine*; more than a dozen entries concerning the development of the railways in vols 1–5 (1834–38).

¹¹⁹ 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour in the North of England and Parts of Scotland', *GM*, 18 (Feb 1842), 49–55 (49).

¹²⁰ Arthur Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold* (London: Ward, Locke, 1910), p. 507n; Ian Carter, *Railways and Culture in Britain: The Epitome of Modernity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 2001, p. 41.

However, during the lifetime of the *Gardener's Magazine* the majority of people could not, in general, afford to travel either by rail or by carriage.¹²¹ They walked. The pedestrian was the focus of much of Loudon's work seen in his campaign for the construction of the pedestrian tunnel under the Thames, and in his designs (see Chapter 4). On 'A Gardening Visit to Paris' in April 1841, Loudon comments on how the use of asphalt on the pavements in France will benefit pedestrians:

The Asphalte Pavements are among the most striking external improvements in Paris, and in fact they are operating a revolution in all the towns in France. The surface is as smooth as that of a board, and it has a soft agreeable feeling to the feet, quite different from that of walking on the smoothest stone, and which we can only compare to walking on a carpet [...]. A greater good to France in the way of cleanliness and comfort than in this asphalte, can hardly be conceived.¹²²

From a particular sensation and the point of view of the pedestrian, he moves on to generalise about France as a whole. He describes the care of the French government for the comfort of its citizens as revolutionary in a Shelleyan swoop from the particular to the universal. The empiricism of science, however, obfuscates the utopianism of John Loudon's discourse. This paragraph follows immediately after one in which Loudon notes the freedom of expression in France in comparison with England. His ordering of the information and its proximity on the printed page suggests that good government and free speech go together.

Tours were part of the discourse of agricultural periodicals like the *Farmer's Magazine*, but they were also of interest to a wider audience and featured in both the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *New Monthly Magazine*. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, tours were, in general, focused on grand architecture, with an interest in antiquities, and in the *New Monthly*, on local theatre, reflecting the cultural nuances of their different audiences in the period.¹²³

The evolving taxonomies of the 'Landscape-Gardening and Garden Architecture' department of the *Gardener's Magazine* and as elements of 'Original Communications', reflect developments in readership and a shift in landscape from predominantly rural to urban. The design and management of large country estates, which might contain a farm, a park, a pleasure-ground and a garden, are included in the landscape gardening category. Hard landscaping, the ways in which the estate might be altered through land-drainage or the alteration of the water-course, and the design and construction of all garden buildings from the conservatory to village houses, are also included. In the early years of the *Magazine*, articles between 1827 and 1832 by John Moggridge of Monmouthshire document the different measures he took to manage his estate. To construct a new village, he supplied land and raw materials, whilst his tenants, coal-miners in this

¹²¹ See Freeman, pp. 109–19, on the 'protracted' and 'ambivalent' development of rail travel for the poor.

¹²² *GM*, 17 (April 1841), 191–204 (194–5).

¹²³ I have looked at the volumes for 1826–28.

case, built the houses themselves. With the addition of gardens, times of hardship were alleviated with the food they provided. Land was put aside for a cemetery as well. Such articles suggest the structure of landownership in this period and the power of the landowner.¹²⁴

The aspirations of urban middle-class readers become more evident from 1835 as the term 'suburban' enters into the list of contents for the annual volumes, coinciding with the reduction in price from 3s. 6d. to 1s. 6d. in 1834. John Loudon's ideas on a range of gardens for the public, including 'Public Promenades', 'Public Parks', 'Scientific Public Gardens', 'Gardens for Recreation and Refreshment' and 'Gardens for Burial' of which 'Landscape Gardens' is just one category, still fall within the category of 'Landscape-Gardening'. Its relative importance diminishes, however, as, with the expansion of the 'General Subject' 'Landscape-Gardening' becomes just one among many categories. This process might suggest the reduction in number of wealthy landowners as readers of the magazine.

Aesthetics was a significant element of landscape gardening discourse in the *Gardener's Magazine*, particularly because it was not generally included in either the *Transactions* or the botanical periodicals. John Loudon developed his ideas in the *Magazine*. He argues in the first introduction that 'very few country gentlemen have a just feeling for what painters call general effect: breadth of light and shade: connection of grouping and of parts'.¹²⁵ Working gardeners should also be aware of landscape design, even if horticulture is their speciality. The appeal of symmetry in landscape is understandable, but the more subtle benefits of 'modern landscape gardening', require education.¹²⁶ Lack of taste is common to all ranks, and John Loudon reminds readers five years later that one of the aims of the *Magazine* and one of his duties as editor is 'to direct our attention in an especial manner to gardening as an art of design and taste'.¹²⁷

He and his contributors debate different styles of landscape and garden design generally within 'Original Communications', but also across 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' and 'Reviews'. Some of the designs might not be of the best quality, but John Loudon publishes them for the reader to develop his or her own critical judgment. The capacity for discernment that he projects onto his readers reflects his democratic approach and partly accounts for the longevity of the *Magazine*. The kinds of discussion of aesthetics that had taken place between patrons of gardens in exclusive treatises over the last 30 years exemplified by Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794), or *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of*

¹²⁴ The first article is entitled 'An Account of a successful Experiment made by John H. Moggridge, Esq. in Monmouthshire, with a View to ameliorate the Condition of Country Labourers', *GM*, 2 (Jan 1827), 19–24. Moggridge's argument is that both he and the tenants benefit from the improvements.

¹²⁵ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (5).

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ 'Preface', *GM*, 7 (1831), iii–iv (iv).

Taste (1805) by Richard Payne Knight, are made available for the first time in a periodical at relatively low cost.

The development of the arboriculture department within the pages of the *Magazine* disseminated knowledge of the cultivation and management of trees, historically the concern of a wealthy landed elite (and their servants), to middle-class readers. Announcements of new faster growing and smaller species of tree suggested their suitability for the smaller suburban garden. The subject also appeared in 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' and 'Reviews' with the intensification of John Loudon's work on the *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum* and the co-option of readers of the *Magazine* to contribute to and buy the resulting publications. He compares arboriculture with floriculture in the preface to the 1834 annual volume:

Of a taste for fine flowers and a taste for fine trees and shrubs, it surely will not be denied that the latter is of a far more elevated kind than the former. It is more elevated because it is more useful, more durable, and more influential on the face of the country; and because it not only affords enjoyment to the possessor and the close observer, but to every one for whom landscape scenery has any attractions.¹²⁸

The cultivation of trees has higher status than the cultivation of flowers, he suggests, because trees have longevity and provide economic benefits. Furthermore, the aesthetic value of trees might be shared by the community and not be limited to the private pleasure of the landowner.

Floriculture did not share the elevated status as a category of knowledge of arboriculture, largely due to factors of class and gender. John Loudon notes in the *Magazine* that as some flower species can be very expensive, difficult to maintain, and their time span short, they do not benefit the domestic economy.¹²⁹ He comments, disapprovingly perhaps, on the amount of money in proportion to income that the weavers of Lancashire might spend: 'It is no uncommon thing for a working man who earns perhaps 18s – 30s per week, to give two guineas for a new variety of auricula, with a view to crossing it with some other and raising seedlings of new properties'.¹³⁰ The interest in flowers shown by artisans, demonstrated by the growth of florists' clubs was not encouraged by the *Gardener's Magazine* through lack of coverage. John Loudon's attitude to floriculture might reflect vestiges of Presbyterian hostility to non-spiritual beauty, and perhaps, anxiety concerning knowledge derived from unwritten artisan traditions.

Flowering plants were used within the home, and the flower garden was generally positioned nearest to the house. Because of their small scale, flowers could be more easily moved around by women, unlike trees and shrubs. In April 1831, a 'Lady Florist' who had been an avid reader of the *Magazine* has recently

¹²⁸ 'Preface', *GM*, 10 (1834), iii–iv (iv).

¹²⁹ See, *ibid.*, iii–iv.

¹³⁰ Taylor, p. 42, and Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', pp. 87–8. Dated 1829, I have been unable to locate the original.

found it less useful because ‘it has become so aristocratic and scientific of late’. Her comment, included in a report by John Loudon entitled ‘Amateur Gardeners and Babes in Floriculture’, implies that five years after the launch of the *Gardener’s Magazine* the science of gardens was still associated with the elite male audience of the *Transactions* and of the Royal Societies.¹³¹ By including the information in the *Magazine*, John Loudon hoped to break down their monopoly on scientific knowledge. He replies that more basic works are available, but that the aim of the *Gardener’s Magazine* is to cover ‘what is new or less generally known’ and to share that knowledge with its diverse readers.¹³²

The dissatisfaction of the florist was one of a number of complaints published by John Loudon criticising the *Magazine* under ‘Queries and Answers’ and ‘Retrospective Criticism’ in its back pages. When Loudon (the editor) is answering as above, a ‘hierarchical relationship between reader and text’ might result, as a study by Stephen Colclough has suggested more generally.¹³³ However, these spaces, overall, appear to be debates amongst the readers (see below). The variety and range of comments over the years suggest that the mediating influence of the editor in selection in order to determine the identity of the magazine is minimal.

Some Tory criticism was based on hostility to John Loudon’s inclusion of much more than floriculture in the *Magazine* and his representation of gardens (and gardeners) as a key element in the way a society might be organised. The *Magazine* is referred to by a contributor to Glenny’s *Horticultural Journal* of March 1835, as containing ‘the usual quantity and quality of bricks and mortar’.¹³⁴ With a relatively low price of 1s., Glenny’s publication specialised in floriculture, included coloured plates of flowers and publicised the dates and results of floricultural fetes and competitions throughout England. The addition of a subtitle ‘and Royal Lady’s Magazine’ from 1835, and the inclusion of two full-page plates of female royalty in the same year, suggests that Glenny was orientating the journal towards a female audience.

John Loudon does not, however, neglect women’s domestic status and taste. In the first introduction, as we have seen, he cites the ‘care of a garden’ as a female recreation.¹³⁵ Designs for flower gardens, and engravings of plants and landscapes drawn by women were published, while botany, a science which women practiced, was a staple of the *Magazine*, although it was not accompanied by the lavish images of traditional horticultural publications. The right of women to attend horticultural fetes is defended by John Loudon. A reader objected to the presence of “Ladies Patronesses” at the garden fete of the Horticultural Society

¹³¹ ‘Amateur Gardeners and Babes ...’, in ‘Queries and Answers’, *GM*, 7 (April 1831), 242–50 (245); Simo, p. 154.

¹³² Loudon, *GM*, 7 (April 1831), 242–50 (245).

¹³³ Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695–1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 167.

¹³⁴ ‘R.L.M.’, ‘Notices of the Periodicals for February’, *HJFR*, 3 (1835), 53–4 (54).

¹³⁵ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (1).

of London in 1827, because they undermined the serious scientific purpose of the society.¹³⁶ Loudon argues, on the contrary, that women, as agents of fashion, can be helpful in popularising and supporting 'useful' institutions. He suggests that if 'large assemblages' were to meet, differences might be reduced and the 'moral strength and happiness of society' would increase.¹³⁷ In 1830 women were allowed to become members of the Horticultural Society and these shows presented them with opportunities to excel. Their achievements were reported by the *Gardener's Magazine*.

Some of the gardens featured are referred to under the name of the female owner or manager, including Lady Broughton's, Mrs Starkey's, and the garden of Mrs Lawrence. Articles on the use of garden furniture in smaller gardens also suggest that the *Magazine* might be addressing women readers. Ultimately, John Loudon decided that women readers needed a separate publication, the *Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (1836–38) that would also expand the market, as we will see in Chapter 5. However, in the *Gardener's Magazine* of July 1840, when reviewing a publication by his wife 'Mrs Loudon', *Instructions in Gardening for Ladies*, he advocates gardening for *all* women, 'provided they are equally without rational and active occupation of some other kind', suggesting that at this date, he still hopes to attract female readers.¹³⁸

The horticulture department constituted a significant part of the *Gardener's Magazine* because in a rapidly changing world gardeners must be kept informed if they are to retain their jobs, or find new ones. The science and management of fruit and vegetables which serve 'to cultivate products used in domestic economy' included the management of orchards as well as the 'forcing' of 'exotic' and 'useful' plants in the greenhouse or under specialist conditions.¹³⁹ Horticulture is valuable because of its nutritional and economic benefits which could be extended, by the *Magazine's* dissemination of information, to benefit the nation as a whole.

Horticulture as a subject was a staple of the magazine. The controlled and gentlemanly horticultural experiments conducted by William Capper 'Esq' of Bath, to understand the internal structure of the vine using expensive glass jars, featured under 'The General Subject' of 'Original Communications' in February 1830. Appearing under 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' from 1837 to 1840 are reports of the horticultural debates between some of the more humble members of the 'West London Gardeners Association for Mutual Instruction' in which each 'amateur' member paid 5s. to join, but journeyman and apprentices paid 1s. 6d. and 1s., respectively.¹⁴⁰ The cultivation of sea kale, soft fruit, oranges, species

¹³⁶ 'A Subscriber to your Magazine', 'The Fête at Chiswick', in 'Horticultural Society and Garden', *GM*, 3 (Sept 1827), 106–9 (108–9).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, Loudon's response, 109; see Simo, pp. 151–2.

¹³⁸ 'Instructions in Gardening, for Ladies', *GM*, 16 (July 1840), 350–52 (352).

¹³⁹ *Ency. Gdng* (1824), p. 454.

¹⁴⁰ *GM*, 14 (1837), 'The West London Gardener's Association for Mutual Instruction', 88–9 (89).

of rose (and the advantages of a classical education) are just a selection of the subjects published.

A forum in which interested individuals participate is suggested by recurring horticultural themes in 'Queries and Answers': the question, how best to preserve celery in winter? from a 'subscriber' of Doncaster,¹⁴¹ is answered in the next number by 'M.F.';¹⁴² or again, does anyone know where (in London) to 'procure' new kinds of celeries and cucumbers? asks Henry Brook of Salisbury,¹⁴³ and 'How to remedy the Canker on Cucumber Plants?' from Charles Shuttleworth, Broxbourne, Bury,¹⁴⁴ are answered by 'Id' and 'W. Henderson, Gardener' respectively.¹⁴⁵ John Loudon sometimes intervenes and, occasionally, the signatories are recognised experts, but the majority are more obscure. It is not possible to determine the income of those whose queries were published. Some were, perhaps, as impoverished as the elderly gardener Archibald McNaughton, who wrote to the *Magazine* in its first year, describing a life of low wages and the prospect of the workhouse.¹⁴⁶ In the case of the *Gardener's Magazine*, then, the 'queries' and 'retrospective criticism' genres evoke elements of the broad audience which it addressed, rather than an 'ideal' reader. This feature of the *Gardener's Magazine* contrasts with findings of some studies which suggest that it is the tendency of these sections to imply an 'ideal' reader through their editorial practices.¹⁴⁷

The science of the *Gardener's Magazine* and the emphasis on horticulture were transforming gardening from an occupation of tradition which had, for the majority of gardeners, been determined by natural forces such as the course of the seasons, the hours of night and day, and seed propagation via birds and insects. As John Loudon explains,

Forcing by flues, steam, fermenting substances, &c. is now carried to an extent never before contemplated. Discoveries in chemistry, the doctrine of heat, meteorology, geology and vegetable physiology, have been brought to bear on the art of culture in such a way, that there is not a single operation, whether on the soil or on plants, that has not undergone improvement.¹⁴⁸

By the 1830s, as Brent Elliott has argued in his history of Victorian gardens, 'it became possible for the gardener to alter the appearance of the garden every year, and eventually every season'.¹⁴⁹ The 'transforming power' previously associated

¹⁴¹ *GM*, 10 (1834), 577.

¹⁴² *GM*, 11 (1835), 53.

¹⁴³ *GM*, 14 (1838), 639.

¹⁴⁴ *GM*, 11 (1835), 605.

¹⁴⁵ *GM*, 12 (1836), 218.

¹⁴⁶ Archibald M'Naughton, 'On the Life of a Jobbing Gardener', *ibid.* (Jan 1826), 24–6.

¹⁴⁷ See Colclough, p. 167.

¹⁴⁸ *GM*, 2 (Jan 1827), 108–20 (109).

¹⁴⁹ Elliott, *Victorian Gardens* (London: Batsford, 1990) pp. 13–14.

with the landscape gardener was ‘soon to become the annual prerogative of the head gardener’.¹⁵⁰ Some readers found this expansion of knowledge alienating, but others were enthusiastic. ‘Q’ from Doncaster writes about the liberation of gardeners:

They are now bursting their chains, and loosening themselves from the trammels of authority. A spirit of improvement, a passion for experiment, and a liberal curiosity, prompt them to quit the old beaten paths, and to explore untried ways; to disdain the bondage of prescription, and to seek to acquire wisdom by experience.¹⁵¹

The language of revolution applied to horticulture was entirely apt, as this whole body of knowledge had, up until the publication of the *Gardener’s Magazine*, been mostly restricted to the elite readers of the *Horticultural Transactions*, who might be amateur landowners or professional landscape gardeners. The remit of the *Gardener’s Magazine* was to make the elite ‘public sphere’ discourse of science accessible to less wealthy readers and was part of a wider trend in publishing. James A. Secord has referred to the ‘striking development’ in the rise of non-fiction series in which many new scientific works appeared.¹⁵²

Distribution: Garden Libraries

Philanthropists and gardeners in the ranks of upper management might be able to afford a copy of the *Gardener’s Magazine* initially priced at 5s., and reduced to 3s. 6d. (1828–34). How, though, was the *Magazine* to reach artisan readers, the ‘journeyman gardeners’, who had never earned ‘higher wages than 10s. or 12s. a week’, or the semi-skilled gardener in nursery where the pay was even less?¹⁵³ As an employee the gardener might have been able to read or borrow his employer’s copy, preserved in his private library. Circulating libraries may have been the space mainly used by wealthier male and female readers, but there were in place myriad ‘library’ systems that enabled the working man to have access to books.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ ‘General Remarks on the Progress of Intellect among Gardeners’, *GM*, 7 (April 1831), 139–40; Simo, p. 158.

¹⁵² For example, Constable’s vision for cheap editions of history, biography and science were revived as 1s. weeklies after his bankruptcy. This was followed by the SDUK’s Library of Useful Knowledge series of sixpenny numbers every two weeks. See Secord, pp. 41–7 (p. 48).

¹⁵³ ‘Preface’, *GM*, 8 (1832), iii–iv (iv). See articles: I. P. Burnard (architect), ‘On the Renumeration of Gardeners’, *GM*, 1 (April 1826), 141–4; Archibald M’Naughton, ‘On the Life of a Jobbing Gardener’, *ibid.* (Jan 1826), 24–6; ‘G.R.G. Journeyman’, ‘Remarks on the Treatment Under-Gardeners receive from their Masters’, *ibid.* (Oct 1826), 410; ‘Sensitivus’, ‘On the Treatment which Gardeners out of Place generally receive from the Nurserymen’, *GM*, 2 (April 1827), 37–8. See also Simo, pp. 154–6.

In urban areas, coffee houses – of which there were 2,000 in London by 1849 – supplied reading matter, as did pubs around the country. An anonymous writer of the *Monthly Magazine* of 1821 discussed the range of reading places, which, between them, served a wide range of incomes and interests.¹⁵⁴ More recently, St Clair has analysed the development of reading spaces in the period.¹⁵⁵

John Loudon was aware of the difficulties of magazine distribution for those who might benefit most from it. In the early years of the *Magazine's* existence, he argued strongly for libraries for gardeners, and village libraries for labourers, starting in January 1827, with a 'Catalogue of Books for a Garden Library'.¹⁵⁶ He set up a competition for their establishment as a way of engaging readers; this was a significant strategy that he developed as editor in order to involve readers and increase sales of the *Magazine*.¹⁵⁷ The first garden library to be established would be awarded 'an 18in. terrestrial globe, and [...] a copy of *Nicholson's British Encyclopaedia*'.¹⁵⁸ He promises to list the names of everyone 'whether gentlemen, or commercial, or serving gardeners' who have started libraries in future issues of the *Magazine*.¹⁵⁹ At the front of the volume for 1827, John Loudon listed the seven garden libraries established since the *Gardener's Magazine* had started its campaign. On a larger scale was Thompson's Welbeck Garden Library started on the aristocratic estate of the Duke of Portland (13 January 1827), and Mackay's Clapton Nursery Library, near London (8 January 1827), founded by its 'liberal employer', Mr Mackay, and started with an initial collection of 260 books. Managed by a changing rota of employees who are to be elected each month, money to support the library would be raised by a weekly penny contribution from all literate employees ('everyone [...] who reads'), sixpence from those trained by the nursery but employed elsewhere, with additional funding from Mr Mackay of 2s. 6d. a week.¹⁶⁰ This suggests that the employees controlled the choice of books in the library. On a smaller scale, George Fulton, who was a gardener at Northwick Park (seat of Lord Northwick), Gloucestershire, started a library on 6 January

¹⁵⁴ 'Facts relative to the State of Reading Societies and Literary Institutions in the United Kingdom', *MM*, 51 (June 1821), 397–8. *Monthly Magazine and British Register*, vols 1–60 (London: Richard Phillips, 1796–1826); cited in part by Thomas Kelly, *Early Public Libraries: A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain before 1850* (London: Library Association, 1966), p. 221.

¹⁵⁵ See St Clair, pp. 235–7.

¹⁵⁶ *GM*, 2 (Jan 1827), 108–20.

¹⁵⁷ For example, a copy of *Hortus Britannicus* will be donated to 'the first head-gardener [...] who shall, with the consent of his employer, procure 20 pairs of sabots [...] for the use of his men' ('Garden Calls', *GM*, 5 [Oct 1829], 557–604 [576]). Competitions and prizes featured in the *Mechanics' Magazine*. The lure of a free gift, however educational, might have been a strategy to involve less wealthy readers.

¹⁵⁸ *GM*, 2 (Jan 1827), 108–20 (119).

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ 'Garden Libraries', *GM*, 2 (March 1827), 243–9 (244).

1827 with a collection of about 50 books in a bookcase in his own home, built and mostly furnished by his employer.

The library campaign extended beyond the *Magazine* with the publication, in the same year, of a separate pamphlet 'Remarks on the Benefits which Would Result to Gardening and Gardeners, from the Establishment of Garden Libraries, and to Labourers and Others of the Rural Population from the Establishment of Village Libraries and Labourers' Institutions'.¹⁶¹ John Loudon argued that rural workers were disadvantaged because they did not have easy access to institutions of reading, like the libraries of the Mechanics' Institutes which first developed in the major cities and then in major ports and manufacturing towns.¹⁶²

John Loudon's promotion of rural libraries was, in part, a response to the urban activities of Lord Brougham (1787–1868), a fellow Scot, whose 'Practical Observations upon the Education of the People', first published by Longman in 1825 and dedicated to the Mechanics' Institutes, went through 20 editions that year. Loudon may have hoped for a similar volume of sales for his own pamphlet. Henry Brougham argued for the advantages to both the working classes and their employers if literacy became more widespread. He suggested that this should be made possible through cheaper publications with accessibility to books through libraries or 'book clubs' with low subscription rates. The following year, Brougham helped to found the movement for the Society for the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), which published regularly issued, cheap, literature.¹⁶³

The libraries of the Mechanics' Institutes generally emphasised the practical advantages of books for artisan readers, holding those that were 'in such branches of physical science as are of practical advantage to their several trades'.¹⁶⁴ However, a recent study suggests that they offered a variety of material including Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and Gibbon's *Rome*.¹⁶⁵ The libraries have records of the *Gardener's Magazine*; the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, for example, opened in 1824, lists volumes 11–13 (1835–37) in its second catalogue of 1839.¹⁶⁶ The *Magazine* falls into the 'literary' as opposed to 'scientific' category of the library catalogue, indicating perhaps the extent to which the *Magazine* was perceived at this later date as a less technical and more cultural publication. The *Magazine*

¹⁶¹ No publisher is given. It may have been privately printed (as was his pamphlet on education).

¹⁶² See Kelly, p. 187.

¹⁶³ See James Secord for an account of the relations between Brougham and the SDUK, pp. 48–50.

¹⁶⁴ Cited by Kelly, p. 187, in relation to the Edinburgh 'School of Arts', founded in 1821.

¹⁶⁵ St Clair, p. 260.

¹⁶⁶ University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST) librarian notes a discrepancy in the catalogue for two sets of dates: 1839 included numbers or annual volumes from 1835 to 1837, and 1869 included numbers or annual volumes from 1836 to 1839.

was also held by the East Lothian 'Itinerating Libraries' where 'besides being circulated amongst the subscribers [it] will also be lent to the gardeners of any ladies and gentlemen who are donors to the institution'.¹⁶⁷

The patronage of Samuel Brown, a merchant of Haddington, as the instigator of the East Lothian libraries, may well have provided a philanthropic model for John Loudon. By means of donation and subscription by wealthy individuals and religious societies, as well as the support of Brown himself, the books from this 'itinerating' library were free on delivery in a 'neat green box' to each village.¹⁶⁸ Reports on this library and the creation, organisation and funding of others, were a regular feature of the *Magazine*, sent in by contributors and reported from other newspapers up until 1831.¹⁶⁹ In general, these were philanthropic projects.

There were, however, alternative libraries in Scotland; the relatively prosperous communities of working miners such as those of Leadhills, Wanlockhead and Westerkirk had a long history of communal, independent libraries, and John Loudon refers to them in his 'Education of Gardeners' as we have seen in Chapter 1. They were organised by the miners for themselves and exemplified the potential for working-class organisation. His campaign for garden libraries was however, rooted in the economic conditions of the period; in general gardeners were not in a position to afford to start a library without patronage.

Garden libraries are essential, John Loudon argues, because of low pay:

Til, therefore, the wages of a journeyman gardener are brought to those of a journeyman mechanic, we really think it a duty on their employers to supply them with books. By employers, we must be understood as meaning the proprietors of gardens, and we do most respectfully submit to all such our humble opinion, that it would only be an act of justice, and much for their own interest to do so. [...] That the moral habits of young men would be improved by spending their evenings in such a library must be obvious, and no longer being obliged to deny themselves the requisite quality and quantity of food (for that is the fact) in order to be able to buy a few books; they would be able to live better and work harder. [...]

We think them equally necessary in nurseries, and other commercial gardens, in horticultural, botanic, or other public gardens, as in private gardens, and that wherever the master has under him a single hand, whether journeyman gardener, or garden labourer, male or female, in short, wherever there is a tool-house, there ought to be a library, and every garden, however small, ought to have its books as well as its tools.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ 'The East Lothian Itinerating Juvenile and Village Libraries', in 'Garden Libraries', *GM*, 5 (April 1829), 226–68 (227).

¹⁶⁸ 'Itinerating, Juvenile, and Village Libraries', in 'Garden Libraries', *GM*, 2 (May 1827), 372–7 (376). See Kelly, p. 201.

¹⁶⁹ There is an abundance of material on libraries in *GM* from 1826–31, vols 1–7.

¹⁷⁰ *GM*, 2 (Jan 1827), 108–20 (110–11).

The constraints of ideology of class and gender are carefully negotiated in this passage. The rhetoric of necessity, 'til therefore', 'it must be obvious', 'equally necessary' and 'in short' is deployed to convince on points which were much debated in the press of the period as we have seen in Chapter 1. Rather than offend (and lose) his wealthier readers, John Loudon softens the radical nature of his argument, that justice requires the master to provide books for his servants, with, his 'humble opinion' which is 'respectfully' submitted. He shocks the reader with the image of a gardener starving in order to gain access to books, but uses this to argue for the provision of books resulting in a more well-fed, well-behaved and effective worker. These were similar to the arguments of Brougham in relation to the urban worker. Furthermore, John Loudon argues that books should be available to gardeners everywhere whatever their status or gender. As in his 'Education of Gardeners', he denies the Tory distinction between those who wield the tools and those with the land, or the income, to employ them.

The catalogue of books which John Loudon recommended as the basis for a garden library might be that required for the gentlemanly education described in his 'Education of Gardeners'. Its lack of modern fiction, however, was characteristic of the libraries of the Mechanic's Institutes as St Clair has noted.¹⁷¹ The works of poets (including Shakespeare), however, histories and modern language texts as well as works on botany, geography and maths form part of John Loudon's recommended list. Some of these are Longman publications as were his encyclopaedias, and the *Gardener's Magazine*. It is noticeable that Longman make contributions to some of the new libraries and so extend the readership of their imprint.¹⁷²

Circulation

In 1834 John Loudon renegotiated the terms of his contract with Longman who published the *Magazine* on commission. The original agreement of 1826 was based on a percentage of the profits. Longman paid for the production costs and split the profits on sales to retain two-fifths or 40 per cent for themselves and passing three-fifths on to John Loudon.¹⁷³ In 1827 this three-fifths had been worth £500 a year to him, with a further £100 for expenses 'for the horse &c'.¹⁷⁴ The profits may have increased as Jane Webb Loudon claimed that up until 1831 the *Magazine* had been worth £750 a year.¹⁷⁵ In the same year Longman recommended

¹⁷¹ See St Clair, p. 261.

¹⁷² Longman contributed to the following garden libraries: 30 vols to Mackay's library, 34 vols to Thompson's Welbeck Library, and 9 vols as well as *Hort's Domestic Education for Self-Instruction* (22 vols) to Bannerman's Walton Nursery Library, *GM*, 2 (March 1827), 245–6.

¹⁷³ University of Reading, Special Collections, MS1393/ 1/102/63.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Webb Loudon, 'Life of John Loudon', p. xxxvi.

that the print run of the *Gardener's Magazine* should be reduced from 3,500, with additional stereotypes (that enabled copies to be made on demand), to 3000, without stereotypes, because the predicted numbers of the magazine were failing to sell.¹⁷⁶ By the end of 1834, Longman agreed to John Loudon's request to a change in terms by which he would take on the production costs and collect 90 per cent of the profits on sale, while Longman would collect the remaining 10 per cent. This suggests that the profits by 1834 were no longer enough for Longman to recoup sufficiently on production costs and that in order to keep the magazine going John Loudon made the decision to take them on himself.

Despite the change in format (with a halving of the number of pages, and a price reduction from 3s. 6d. to 1s. 6d.) during 1834, when the *Magazine* became a monthly, profits do not seem to have recovered. By 1838, circulation was down to 1,500.¹⁷⁷ The further reduction in profits is indicated by Longman's decision in 1839 to cease to publish on commission and to become distributors instead (this is indicated by a change on the frontispiece of that year 'sold by Longman'). At the same time the Edinburgh-based publisher A and C Black also became distributors. John Loudon took on much greater financial risk, but at the same time he managed to expand his distribution outlets.

What had happened in the 1830s that transformed the *Magazine* from a commercially viable enterprise to one that was maintained largely through the efforts of its editor? Several factors contributed to the *Magazine's* declining circulation, the most obvious being the arrival of new competitors.

A series of changes in the technology of print, the beginnings of a revolution in transport, effecting distribution, and developments in government legislation had taken place in the intervening years. The use of the Fourdrinier machine (patented in 1807) which speeded up the manufacture of paper through the use of a rotating belt of woven wire onto which pulp made up of rags was dried and smoothed out, was, by the 1830s, producing over half of all paper made in England.¹⁷⁸ The use of the cylindrical printing press (developed in Britain in the early nineteenth century) was more widespread across the country by this time. Refinements of the stereotyping process, discussed earlier, were being developed. Profits were made more likely by the development of the railways, as through increased speed costs of distribution were reduced and the number of outlets expanded. All of these factors contributed towards the development of cheaper rivals, including a newspaper for gardeners (see below) which made the *Gardener's Magazine* redundant.

Changes in legislation to 'taxes on knowledge' in 1836 also shifted the economic climate; stamp duty of 4d. on newspapers and pamphlets, effectively taxing the dissemination of information, was reduced to 1d.; the cost of paper, kept

¹⁷⁶ See Reading, SC, MS1393/ 1/ 102/162D.

¹⁷⁷ Source is *Waterloo Directory*; I have been unable to find independent evidence.

¹⁷⁸ See Weedon, 'The Economics of Print', p. 108; Secord, p. 119.

artificially high by paper duty of 3d., was halved to 1 1/2d. per pound.¹⁷⁹ Stamp duty reduction did not affect monthly magazines (as it was targeted at those that sold more frequently than every 26 days and whose price was 6d. or less, (mainly newspapers), but the reduction in costs for paper in bulk reduced costs for all magazines. Moreover, in 1836 advertisement duty was reduced from 3s. 6d. to 1s. 6d., which opened up another source of revenue.

The 1830s have been referred to as a 'boom period in periodical publishing'.¹⁸⁰ It was in 1832 that the *Penny Magazine* and *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (intended for artisan readers) were launched. Economic conditions for the production of magazines, then, were much more favourable than they had been in 1826 when the *Gardener's Magazine* had started. The founding of a very similar publication at less than a third of the price of the 3s. 6d. *Gardener's Magazine* drained away John Loudon's middle-class audience.

New Competition

In July 1831 Joseph Paxton (1803–65) launched his 1s. monthly, the *Horticultural Register* (1831–36).¹⁸¹ The *Register* answered the queries of amateur gardeners and came out on a monthly basis; it was therefore a more effective 'register' of news, than the *Gardener's Magazine*. Paxton also claimed that the 'very close connection [...] which subsists between Horticulture and Natural History' had induced him to combine the two subjects in one publication.¹⁸² It is no coincidence that Paxton decided to include natural history as John Loudon had already pioneered the *Natural History Magazine* in 1828, and Longman had marketed the magazines as alternative bimonthlies up until 1831; adverts in *The Times* announce that the *Magazine of Natural History* will 'be continued every two months, alternately with the *Gardener's Magazine*'.¹⁸³

Both Paxton and his co-editor, Joseph Harrison (1798–died before 1861) were gardening professionals – Paxton worked for the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth and Harrison for Lord Wharnccliffe at Wortley Hall in Yorkshire. Their magazine was broadly reformist, and engravings and plans for (semi-)public gardens and country

¹⁷⁹ See Joel .H. Wiener, *The War of the Unstamped: The Movement to Repeal the British Newspaper Tax, 1830–1836* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 1–15; Brock, 'Commercial Science Journals', pp. 98–102; Feather, pp. 112–5; Weedon, 'The Economics of Print'.

¹⁸⁰ Weedon, 'The Economics of Print', p. 109.

¹⁸¹ The *Horticultural Register*, 6 vols (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1831–36). Hereafter, *HR* in brackets and footnotes. For an extended review of *HR* by John Loudon, see 'The Horticultural Register, and General Magazine' *GM*, 7 (Oct 1831), 601–9.

¹⁸² 'Introduction', *HR*, 1 (July 1831), i–v (ii).

¹⁸³ *The Times*, Sat., 26 April 1828, p. 4.

cottages were included, very much in the manner pioneered by John Loudon.¹⁸⁴ The magazine was organised along similar lines to the *Gardener's Magazine*, with 'Original Communications', 'Miscellaneous Intelligence', 'Queries, Answers, Remarks & C.' departments. It was the same size (13 x 21cm), but, with an average of 48 pages, it contained less than half the number of pages of the *Gardener's Magazine* in its still bimonthly form.

The *Horticultural Register* also featured close-ups of plants similar to those of the traditional horticultural periodicals, and mostly absent from the *Gardener's Magazine*. By January 1833, Paxton notes that the extra production costs of the plant illustration (and the higher paper quality) have been worthwhile because of readers' favourable reaction and, he implies, increased sales.¹⁸⁵ One year later, however, the presence of only one coloured illustration (of a butterfly) in the annual volume of the *Horticultural Register* of 1834, suggests that it was not possible to produce coloured images and keep the magazine at a lower price.

Paxton went on to found the more traditional and expensive 2s. monthly *Magazine of Botany and Register of Flowering Plants* (1834–49), with a focus on descriptive botany and containing lithographed coloured plates. However, it was the monthly magazine started by Joseph Harrison (formerly joint editor with Paxton on the *Horticultural Register*) that revolutionised the horticultural periodicals market. Harrison's *Floricultural Cabinet and Florist's Magazine* (1833–59) costing 6d., was not as cheap as the magazines pioneered by Chambers and Knight, but was more in line with the prices of other technical artisan magazines or newspapers such as the *Mechanics' Magazine* and the *Chemist*, which both cost 3d.¹⁸⁶ Slightly larger than the *Horticultural Register* (13.5 x 22cm), but more accessible to the working man's pocket, Harrison claimed to have distributed nearly 50,000 copies during the first nine months, which amounts to almost 5,500 copies per issue.¹⁸⁷

With respect to content, the scale of hard landscaping in the *Floricultural Cabinet* is modest, generally focused on the layout of gravel walks or flower gardens rather than on arboriculture which was, in the majority of cases, the province of wealthier landed gentry. The activities of the Floral Society, and a 'Floricultural' calendar, were regularly featured in the magazine, as were coloured illustrations of plants. The satisfaction of a reader who had been waiting for a magazine 'to direct our outdoor operations, more particularly in floral matters' exemplifies the sense of exclusion felt by some readers of the *Gardener's Magazine*, despite John Loudon's

¹⁸⁴ Paxton was later involved with the establishment of the *Daily News*, a liberal alternative to *The Times*.

¹⁸⁵ See, 'Preface', *HR*, 2 (1833), iii–iv.

¹⁸⁶ *Floricultural Cabinet and Florist's Magazine* (London: Whittaker and Co. and Sheffield: G. Ridge [1833–35], London: Whittaker, 1835–59), continued under different titles until 1916. Hereafter, *Floricultural Cabinet* or *FCFM* in brackets or footnotes.

¹⁸⁷ 'Preface', *FCFM*, 1 (1833), iii–iv; Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 94.

best intentions.¹⁸⁸ Along with the lower price of the *Floricultural Cabinet*, and the reduction of scientific information, there is a turning inward of garden practice, away from political issues and enlightenment projects. In this cheaper periodical, then, the garden as a category of knowledge is much reduced, and in the process the status of the majority of gardeners, also, contracts to labourers in the private sphere.

The title of the magazine indicates the different audience for whom it was intended. This included professional florists and amateur 'cultivators', possibly the artisans of the Yorkshire industrialised areas whose florists' clubs were expanding in the early nineteenth century, and who were local to Harrison's estate at Wortley Hall. Like other technical magazines, the *Floricultural Cabinet* depended on contributions from readers. Harrison suggests, 'Our success mainly depends upon co-operation which must be cordial and mutual', indicating perhaps, the development of an artisan (and mainly male) audience.¹⁸⁹

The date-stamped most recent information on gardening went into the *Gardener's Gazette*, which had been established in 1837, the first ever weekly horticultural newspaper. John Loudon welcomed the *Gazette*, and became its editor from 1840–41. He claimed that in the first issues, almost all the content of the *Gardener's Magazine* had been embodied into the *Gazette*, but once he became editor this activity would cease.¹⁹⁰ He included summaries from the *Gardener's Magazine* and other horticultural periodicals and books. His editorship was, however, of short duration.

The principal editor of the *Gazette* (1837–44) was George Glenny, whose hostility to John Loudon's ideas has been referred to. The 'General News' of this newspaper has been summarised as 'a collection of pithy paragraphs strung together in a chit-chat sort of style as if for a class of people whose minds were too much engaged in peaceful pursuits and of too equable a temperament to care much for politics or passing events of a fuller nature'.¹⁹¹ This summary was made just two years after the *Gardener's Magazine*, which had included social and political issues, had ceased to publish. John Lindley (1799–1865), the first professor of botany at London University and a significant contributor to a number of John Loudon's publications, was critical of the *Gazette*.¹⁹² He went on with Paxton, to found the more reputable *Gardener's Chronicle* (1841–).¹⁹³ This was the principal voice for the gardening community campaigning on its behalf.¹⁹⁴ It also engaged

¹⁸⁸ 'J.D.H.', under 'Miscellaneous Intelligence', *FCFM*, 1 (July 1833), 110–11 (110); Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 87.

¹⁸⁹ 'Preface', *FCFM*, 1 (1833), iv.

¹⁹⁰ See Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 91.

¹⁹¹ *Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory*, 1846; *Waterloo Directory*.

¹⁹² Lindley prepared more than 1,500 descriptions for the *Encyclopaedia of Plants* (1829). For Lindley's comments, see Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 90.

¹⁹³ Change of title in 1986 to *Horticultural Week*.

¹⁹⁴ See Elliott, p. 12.

(as had the *Gardener's Magazine*), in broader issues concerning the national economy under its first editors.¹⁹⁵

The immediate consequence of the appearance of the *Gardener's Gazette* for the *Gardener's Magazine* may have been a reduction in circulation, from which it did not recover. John Loudon's reference to the profits as well as the pleasures that the *Magazine* gave him in 1840, however, suggest that the *Magazine* was still a going concern at this date.¹⁹⁶ What were his editorial strategies for dealing with the new competition apart from the change in price and form of the *Magazine*? The most noticeable change is the absence of larger-scale radical projects like those on libraries, education or the Thames Tunnel, once the *Magazine* became a monthly after 1834. His campaign for Douglas's monument (1836–42) shows him still co-opting his audience, but for garden projects. Within 'Miscellaneous Intelligence', single items on libraries, cooperative societies or on the meetings of the 'West London Association of Gardeners for Mutual Improvement' (1837–41) reflect a consistent enlightenment agenda. However, within the main body of the *Magazine*, debate on wages for gardeners, for example, cease to be a feature as they had been during the *Magazine's* first years.

We have seen that the development of metropolitan taxonomies was in part a reflection of, and reaction to, urban readership. However, John Loudon's inclusion of the design of suburban houses and their gardens from 1835 may also have been because they were not included in cheaper publications such as the *Floricultural Cabinet* (the *Horticultural Register* had ceased in 1836) and appealed to both male and female readers. Parts of Loudon's *Arboretum Britannicum* were published in the *Gardener's Magazine*, which might also have been part of an editorial strategy to hold on to wealthier male readers.

Another factor for this shift in content may have been the increased polarisation of the interests of the middle classes and the working poor, after the failure of the Reform Laws of 1832 to significantly increase the franchise, and the controversy over Poor Law legislation of 1834 referred to in Chapter 1. As with the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, John Loudon could not afford to offend and lose wealthier readers who were the main purchasers of the *Magazine*.

The reduction in pictorial illustration after 1839 coincides with a general increase in technical discourse of the *Magazine*.¹⁹⁷ This process, connected to lack of funds, may be evidence of John Loudon's attempts to attract working gardeners and the readers of the *Gardener's Gazette*. Indeed, by 1838, Loudon distinguishes between the readers of the *Gardener's Magazine*, most of whom will be 'professional men' and the male/female readership of the *Suburban*

¹⁹⁵ See Nickianne Moody, 'Gardener's Chronicle', *DN CJ*, p. 242.

¹⁹⁶ *Gardener's Gazette* (14 November 1840), 724; Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 91.

¹⁹⁷ This is indicated by the list of contents for the annual volumes: 'Garden Structures, Tools and Instruments' (1839); 'Implements' (1841) become subcategories of 'Original Communications'.

Gardener and Villa Companion.¹⁹⁸ This suggests a change in intended audience since the *Magazine's* inception. Gardens in the public sphere remain, however, a distinguishing feature of the *Gardener's Magazine* in relation to other horticultural publications, as discussions of cemeteries, transport between cities and urban tours in its later years demonstrate.

Longevity

We have seen that John Loudon took a number of measures to keep the *Gardener's Magazine* going in the face of increased competition and the economics of periodical production. The longevity of the journal alone suggests that his editorial strategies were effective. Could the *Magazine* have continued into the mid-nineteenth century, after his death in 1843? Most other horticultural periodicals, with one exception, collapsed towards the middle of the nineteenth century: 'at least fifteen new periodicals were founded in the 1830s but during the same decade at least twelve ceased publication'.¹⁹⁹ The phenomenon was perceived at the time, and by commentators since, to be caused by 'supply exceeding demand'.

The availability of information and images in cheaper forms for an expanding and poorer readership was another factor. Changes in categories of knowledge were also influential. The design, purpose, funding and management of public gardens were absorbed into the workings of local and national government as I demonstrate in Chapter 4. Discourse of the science of horticulture entered into academic journals of agricultural and horticultural science, as well as horticultural newspapers, exemplified by the *Gardener's Chronicle*. Gardens in the private sphere become a feature of domestic ideology and an element included in family and women's magazines in the 1850s, as I discuss in Chapter 5. The multiple strands of discourse on gardens which characterised the *Gardener's Magazine*, then, become separated into more specialised publications, and as a result the politics of gardens, derived from its location in the land, generally disappears from public view.

¹⁹⁸ 'Descriptive Notice of the Villa of Mrs Lawrence', *GM*, 14 (July 1838), 305–23 (305).

¹⁹⁹ Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 93.

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Chapter 3

Image and Text in the *Gardener's Magazine*

The heterogeneity of the images (representations on the page) in the *Gardener's Magazine*, and their unevenness in quality and execution has been perceived as a sign of failure.¹ In this chapter I place the *Magazine* in a print media context and document the epistemology of the image, from the 'engraving', a generic term suggestive of production processes, through to the 'diagram', the 'picture', 'sketch', 'vignette', 'map' and 'plan', which are more indicative of content. I argue that the heterogeneity of images, the result of technological advances which John Loudon exploited, is a reflection, and product of, the diversity of the reading audience. I suggest, in the final part of this chapter, that the tensions amongst this audience and the potential for fragmentation realised after the Reform Act of 1832, have become evident in an article of December 1839 on Cheshunt Cottage. It was one of a series on suburban residences and exemplary of the 'Gardenesque', a style of planting developed by John Loudon.

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, 'Literary' magazines, as in the sense of collections of writing, which might or might not extend to fiction and poetry, had few, if any illustrations. Between 1824 and 1830, the liberal *Gentleman's Magazine* had an average of two per number which were mainly topographical. The strongly liberal and anti-sectarian *Monthly Magazine* was illustrated with a mix of scientific and topographical imagery up to 1824, but with a change of ownership and political focus, these disappeared up to 1830.² The *New Monthly*, which at 3s. 6d. was one of the more expensive magazines (and the same price as the *Gardener's Magazine* in its bimonthly form), had no illustrations at all from 1824 to 1828. The dearth of imagery within the pages of the majority of the literary magazines priced at 1s. or more, may well have been the result of editorial policy; written text was privileged over images because of the latter's associations with the less literate culture of the poor, women and children. The expensive, 3s. monthly, *La Belle Assemblée* (1806–47), which addressed wealthy women readers, for example, contained coloured fashion plates.

Horticultural periodicals and part-works were also noted for the high proportion of text to image, with an average of up to two pages of text to one plant image.³

¹ Ray Desmond's essay on the gardening press was pioneering. However, he suggests that the majority of images in *GM* are 'merely practical diagrams', see 'Horticultural Journalism', pp. 95–6.

² Publisher of the *Monthly*, Richard Phillips sold to Cox and Baylis in 1824. See Sullivan, p. 315.

³ My survey of the *Botanical Magazine*, the *Botanical Register* and the *British Flower Garden* from 1826 to 1832 shows that the number of images per monthly part ranged from three to seven. Maund's *Botanic Garden* was the exception with just two plates (illustrating eight plants) per part.

The coloured print of a plant was the selling point, with page order established according to plant sequence, as we have seen. Both Curtis and Maund emphasised the scientific authority of their publications; Curtis, in particular, is exemplary of a botanical expert using images to gain new audiences, and in the longer term, new practitioners of botany.

Likewise, John Loudon included illustrations in the *Gardener's Magazine* to foster good gardening practice and to gain new readers. He was sometimes critical, however, towards the coloured plates of the botanical magazines, as we shall see. Technical diagrams formed a non-letterpress element of the *Magazine* and of the irregular and expensive *Transactions of the Horticultural Society*.

Diagrams and images of machines predominated in the images seen in the cheaper 'technical' or scientific periodicals and weeklies that appeared as result of the mechanisation of printing (see below). One of the cheapest technical publications was the weekly 3d. *Mechanics' Magazine* (1824–57), which contained on average up to 15 per cent of images in proportion to text and achieved a circulation of 16,000 a month in its first year. In its manifesto, the editor, Joseph C. Robertson (1788–1852), announced that accounts of new discoveries, inventions and 'secret processes' would be accompanied by 'illustrative Drawings'.⁴ The letterpress description of the 'Compound Blowpipe', for example, 'may be understood from the pre-fixed engraving'.⁵ The front page of the *Mechanics' Magazine* for 13 September 1823, however, carries a wood engraving, 'Aerial excursion of Mademoiselle Garnerin', showing a woman in an air balloon floating over the rooftops just outside Paris. This 'fantastic' image (not shown) might exemplify the power of images to give pleasure and to stimulate intellectual curiosity. Alternatively, as Brian Maidment has observed in his analysis of popular prints, the wood engraving both 'explains' the scientific text and looks back to the 'fictive' function of broadside ballads.⁶

Broadside ballads and chapbooks were part of the print culture of the poor. Broad-sides were printed on one side of paper and commonly adapted the latest news to familiar ballads. They displayed decorative woodcuts and highest sales were achieved with stories of royal scandal or the last words of notorious criminals. Chapbooks were small booklets containing religious or political texts and were illustrated with simple woodcuts.⁷ These visual traditions were, to some extent, absorbed into cheap, mass-produced magazines exemplified by Limbard's 2d. weekly *Mirror of Literature* (1822–47), which displayed narrative pictures on its front page and achieved circulation of 15,000 per week, and, perhaps also, the *Mechanics' Magazine*.

⁴ 'To the Mechanics of the British Empire', *MeM*, 1 (30 Aug 1823), 16.

⁵ 'Compound Blowpipe by Alcohol', *MeM*, 1 (6 Sept 1823), 27–8 (28).

⁶ See Brian Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints, 1790–1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 146.

⁷ See Rohan McWilliam, 'Broad-sides and Chapbooks', *DNCJ*, pp. 80–81.

Both the *Mirror* and the *Mechanics' Magazine* evolved after the harnessing of steam power to the printing press.⁸ First developed successfully by Friedrich Koenig (1774–1833), a German engineer living in England, and his partner A. F. Bauer, the design of the original steam press of 1810 resembled a flat hand-press attached to a steam engine.⁹ The design was made more efficient with the cylindrical steam press. The *Times* bought the first double-cylinder press for £1,400 in 1814. The initial expense (and hostility from some sections of the print trade) meant that take-up of the steam press was slow. During the 1820s, however, cheaper prototypes were developed and these facilitated the production of the low-price mass produced magazines referred to earlier. Spottiswoode, the printers of the *Gardener's Magazine* for Longman and later on for John Loudon, are known to have had access to the steam press before 1820. It is likely that, in conjunction with stereotyping, the steam press was used in the printing of the journal. The production of images, however, was a specialised process which involved several stages before being sent to the printer.

Image Production

It is not easy to estimate the average proportion of image to text within the pages of the *Gardener's Magazine* as the number and size of images varied considerably from month to month and from year to year. However, it is reasonable to conclude that there was a rise from less than 5 per cent in 1826 to a high of up to 20 per cent by 1839, with fluctuations in the intervening years, followed by a steady decline towards the final volumes, down to around 3 per cent in 1842.¹⁰ The fall in proportion of image to text coincides with a rise in simple single line images and reflects the increasing financial precariousness of the *Magazine* as a result of declining circulation and debts accrued from the production costs of John Loudon's *Arboretum et Fruticetum*.¹¹

Images were expensive and laborious to produce in comparison with letterpress, whatever the reproduction process. 'Intaglio' describes a process in which the lines of a drawing are incised by a fine tool or 'burin', or etched by acid onto a metal plate, generally copper up to the 1820s. The depressions are filled with ink and, the surface ink having been wiped off, these depressions or lines are what print as dampened paper is pressed against the plate. First practised by artists since

⁸ See Paul Jobling and David Crowley, *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation since 1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Johanna Drucker and Emily McVarish, *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, 2009), pp. 119–24.

⁹ See Philip B. Meggs and Alston W. Purvis, *Meggs' History of Graphic Design*, 4th edn (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2006), p. 140.

¹⁰ These figures are based on my calculations of space covered by image in relation to total pagination of selected volumes from vol. 1 (1826), 5 (1829), 10 (1834), 15 (1839) and 18 (1842).

¹¹ See Chapters 4 and 5.

the fifteenth century, the image had to be printed separately from the letterpress. Sometimes etching and engraving were combined on the same plate. Specialist training in metalwork was not required for the etching as it was easier to draw with a pointed etching needle into a waxy ground (that repels acid) than to cut into metal. Aquatint, a process in which tonal layers are achieved through controlled 'biting' of the acid was the method used for expensive illustrated books, *The Microcosm of London* (1808–10) for example, mentioned in the previous chapter.

By the early nineteenth century copperplate was, generally, still the method favoured by more expensive publications. The high cost of the copperplates featured in the elite and irregularly printed *Transactions* was one of the factors in its cessation.¹² During the same period, however, a number of new methods and materials for image production entered the market and was one of the principle factors driving the expansion of horticultural periodicals. Steel, for example, began to be substituted for copper during the 1820s. Steel was too hard to cut; the term 'steel engraving' is confusing because even though the lines were, in general, etched, they looked as though they had been engraved because the linear marks were regular as with copper engraving'.¹³ Steel was much more durable – thousands of impressions could be made without the plate getting damaged. Consequently, it was considerably cheaper and was one of the factors that contributed towards the lower price of Maund's *Botanic Garden* compared to the *Transactions* and the *Botanical Magazine*. Steel would also have been useful for the other ephemera (tickets and posters), which as a printer, he undertook as part of his business.

Lithography was the method taken up in the 1830s for the plates of the *Botanical Magazine*. Originally developed by Alois Senefelder (1771–1834), the process was disseminated in England by Rudolph Ackermann and Charles Joseph Hullmandel during the 1820s and 1830s. Lithography is based on the principle that oil and water do not mix and is executed on one plane. A drawing is made on a porous substance such as stone using a greasy medium (usually crayon). Having been fixed, the stone is dampened with water and inked by a roller. The ink retained by the greasy medium is ready for printing once the rest of the ink has been washed off.

The advantage of the lithographic process was that it was faster than copperplate. Like etching it allowed for a greater variety of marks – including fine line engraving and stippling, the featheriness of a pencil-sketch and the linear effects of wood engraving. Moreover, text and image could be drawn on the same surface so that free-form lettering could interact with figurative marks.¹⁴ It was a process favoured by artists (like etching) as they were able to draw straight onto

¹² The cost of the production of the first seven volumes of the *Transactions* had risen to the very large sum of £25,250 by 1830 and could not be sustained as it consumed a 'disproportionate', share 'of the society's slender finances' (Fletcher, p. 158).

¹³ See Paul Goldman, 'The History of Illustration and Its Technologies', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (1), pp. 137–45 (p. 141).

¹⁴ See Drucker et al., p. 128.

stone and bypass the engraver whose skills and tools might not accurately recreate the original marks.

The lithographic process was associated with science in Britain from its beginnings, as it was used by geologists to illustrate their discoveries while also enhancing their profession.¹⁵ Lithographs featured in the very expensive *Transactions*, and in Curtis's *Botanical Magazine*, which by 1834 was costly at 3s. 6d. The price of the *Gardener's Magazine* had been reduced to 1s. 6d. by this date; the first numbers, however, of John Loudon's *Arboretum Britannicum* featured lithographic plates of trees, as we will see in Chapter 4.

In the 1820s lithographic companies were few in number and on a small scale, as Michael Twyman has demonstrated.¹⁶ Wood engraving companies were more numerous. The images of both woodcut (a craft which goes back to the origins of printing) and wood engraving were carved in relief. Areas to be printed were raised up from lower-lying areas that remained white, as with letterpress. The advantage of both woodcut and wood engraving was that text and image could be printed on the same page.

A woodcut block was treated as a white surface. The craftsman followed the lines of the drawing, but he cut round them leaving the original lines in relief. Tones of black were achieved by gouging cross strokes out of the block. In general, a broad-nibbed knife followed the grain of the soft wood traditionally used for woodcuts. By this period, woodcuts were confined, almost exclusively, to broadsides and chapbooks referred to earlier.

Thomas Bewick (1783–1828) has been credited with the revival of wood engraving and the development of the “white-line” technique in which the block is treated as a black surface. White lines and tones of white could be more easily achieved. The fine-bladed sharp ‘graver’, which bore a close resemblance to the ‘burin’, cut against the close-grained blocks of hard boxwoods. The harder wood allowed for many more impressions than the softer wood of a woodcut block and involved fewer workings than copperplate. In general, however, the images were small, as the box tree or shrub was slow growing and not large. A mix of both white-line and black techniques were employed by Bewick and later wood engravers in order to achieve sparkling lights and darks.

Another technique revived by Bewick was to lower the surface of the block according to the sort of tint required so that equal pressure could be applied on an uneven surface, making it easier and cheaper to print, and adaptable to the steam press.¹⁷ Bewick's skill, seen in his *General History of Quadrupeds* of 1790,

¹⁵ They were able to advise on where the limestone (a porous rock ideal for lithography) was to be found.

¹⁶ See Twyman, *Breaking the Mould: The First Hundred Years of Lithography* (London: British Library, 2001), pp. 25–8.

¹⁷ The widely used alternative was the use of overlays which had to be torn or cut by the printer and adjusted as he saw the results; a lengthy process limited to the hand press. See, John Buchanan-Brown *Early Victorian Illustrated Books, Britain, France and Germany, 1820–1860* (London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2005), p. 21.

helped to raise the status of wood engraving from the lower end of the market which it dominated, to associations with finely printed books toward the end of the eighteenth century, as John Buchanan-Brown has observed.¹⁸ A number of nineteenth-century critics argued that Bewick's talent raised the status of the wood engraver generally, from craftsman to artist, as the original drawing was not reproduced but interpreted by the engraver. By the 1820s, however, the same group of craftsman were working on high-end book production and on printed ephemera. Wood engraving was the method for the production of images in Harrison's relatively cheap, 6d. *Floricultural Cabinet* – the skill of the engravings are, in some cases however, almost obliterated by crude application of colour.

Contemporary terminology does not always distinguish between woodcuts and wood engravings. Robertson promises that each number of the *Mechanics' Magazine* will contain 'sixteen closely printed pages, with numerous wood-cuts', possibly to align the magazine with the artisan tradition of the broadside, in which a page or so of text might be shared with a woodcut.¹⁹ The earliest numbers, however, contain a mix of woodcuts and wood engravings. The term 'cuts' in the *Gardener's Magazine* frequently appears in relation to line diagrams although they are listed in the contents of the bound volumes under 'Engravings' (see below).

The high circulation of the weekly illustrated *Penny Magazine* (1832–45) was due to 'the liberal employment of illustrations, by means of Wood-cuts' according to its publisher and editor Charles Knight (1791–1873).²⁰ The magazine was intended to make knowledge of art and science accessible to poor readers and achieved the 'unprecedented' circulation of 200,000 in its first year.²¹ 'Wood-cuts' and 'cuts' in both publications, however different their content, describe a technique which was, in practice, wood engraving. The term 'cuts' eventually became synonymous with all journalistic illustration in the later nineteenth century because the process of wood engraving had changed in the period.²² It evolved from a cottage industry exemplified by Bewick, who was freelance and named, to a mechanised process in which the engraver was generally an employee in larger firm – exemplified by Vizetelly House which did some of the engravings for the early numbers of the *Gardener's Magazine* (see below). It is notable that Vizetelli's son, Henry Richard (1820–94), who trained as an engraver, emerged in the new role of 'engraver/entrepreneur/art director', which was central to illustrated books and periodicals in the 1830s and 1840s.²³ Henry Vizetelli founded the *Illustrated London News* (1842–1989) and supervised the illustrations. Some took the form of large cuts (as in the *Penny Magazine*) in which several blocks of wood, each worked by individual wood engravers, were glued (later locked) together to form one large

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁹ *MeM*, 1 (30 Aug 1823), 16.

²⁰ 'Preface', *PM*, 1 (1832), iii–iv (iii).

²¹ Matthew Taunton, 'Penny Magazine', *DNCJ*, pp. 486–7 (p. 486).

²² See Buchanan-Brown, pp. 286–91.

²³ Brian Maidment, 'John Jackson', *DNCJ*, p. 314.

cut. During the course of the nineteenth century, as the numbers of wood engravers expanded to satisfy the demands of illustrated journalism, their professional status was, with few exceptions, diminished.

The numbers and size of engravings in proportion to the text in the *Penny Magazine* was made possible by the economies of mass production as it was printed on an Applegarth and Cowper four-cylinder press capable of printing 4,000 impressions on both sides of the paper. Started almost a decade after the *Mechanic's Magazine*, it was the first of a plethora of cheap mass-circulation, weekly, illustrated magazines including the one-penny *London Journal* (1845–1928) and *Reynolds Miscellany* (1846–69). There were several experiments in processes for graphic reproduction, as we have seen, but wood engraving became the dominant form because it was the most economic; it allowed for printing the image in relief with the text and combined with the new steam presses with their high impression rate.²⁴

Despite a growing culture of Puritan iconophobia in response to the proliferation of illustrated newspapers and magazines, new illustrated press publications within an extensive price range enjoyed high circulations.²⁵ In this way access to the printed image expanded considerably for the working poor and the middle classes – increasing visual literacy and stimulating demand for images in the press. The *Gardener's Magazine*, which contained a mix of visual material, anticipated and fostered this development.

Wood Engraving

The start date of the *Gardener's Magazine* lies several years before major economies of scale could be achieved. In this section we look at the measures Loudon took to include illustration in a publication that might not exclude middle-class readers through high price (reduced from 5s to 3s. 6d after one year) at a time when printing was evolving from a cottage industry towards full mechanisation.

Brian Maidment has argued in his analysis of the meanings of printed images in popular culture that one of its functions was as a form of 'explication':

The wood engraving became an essentially representational medium, a means by which the appearance of the world was rendered to those eager for knowledge and understanding. The topographical, zoological, botanical, and technological focus to the illustrations of the new mass circulation journals of the 1830s make these representational functions quite clear.²⁶

²⁴ See Buchanan-Brown, p. 14.

²⁵ See Sinnema, p. 14. He observes that the 'pictured page' in Wordsworth's poem 'Illustrated Books and Newspapers' (1846) is described as a 'backward movement' suggesting a retrogressive development from mature and intellectual, to primitive, childish 'lower stage' pleasures.

²⁶ Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints*, p. 146.

I suggest that, in general, John Loudon's use of wood engravings in the *Gardener's Magazine* from the first number in 1826, anticipates these later publications. In the table of contents of each annual volume, all images are listed under the general title of 'engravings' to distinguish them from the text of letterpress and, perhaps, to differentiate them from the plates of traditional horticultural periodicals. In March 1827, the second year of the *Magazine's* production, John Loudon defends his use of wood engraving: 'Though our articles are not ornamented by coloured plates, or engravings from copper or steel, yet they are illustrated by a greater number of engravings from wood, sufficiently intelligible for all useful purposes'.²⁷ His argument is that the function of the image in the *Gardener's Magazine* is not to delight the eye but to explain process. The relative cheapness of wood engraving, in comparison with copper- and steel plate, enabled a greater number of images to be printed and ultimately allowed him to reduce the price of the magazine and gain a broader readership. The overall integration of letterpress with image made possible by the process marked a turning point in periodical production.

Wood engraving was, however, still expensive in relation to the letterpress. Longman ledgers for the *Gardener's Magazine* indicate that one of the contributing factors was the price paid to the best wood engraving companies. The costs of printing 2,000 copies of the *Magazine* are noted in March 1826.²⁸ Printing (by Spottiswoode) and paper both cost more than £40 and account for at least 40 per cent of the total production costs of the *Magazine* at £210. Payments to Branston and Whiting, noted wood engravers of the period, for 34 'woodcuts', however, came to £25 11s. 6d., around 13 per cent.²⁹ When the *Magazine* became a monthly in 1834, and the number of pages was cut from more than 100 to around 50, total production costs were reduced by more than 60 per cent to £57 5s. 8d. for 2,250 printings.³⁰ However, 'Vizetelly House', recognised as one of the top firms of engravers, was paid £6 9s. 8d. for woodcuts, which at 12 per cent of the total production costs, had hardly fallen at all.³¹

There was also the initial cost of the drawing itself, which Longman did not appear to pay for.³² This suggests that John Loudon generally received drawings from contributors, and then had them prepared for the engraver, or had to pay the

²⁷ 'Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London', *GM*, 2 (March 1827), 414–44 (438); Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 80.

²⁸ See University of Reading, Special Collections, MS 1393/D340, 31 March 1826.

²⁹ Robert Edward Branston (1803–77) came from a family of engravers. His father trained a number of London wood engravers. Charles Whiting was Robert Branston's second partner.

³⁰ See Reading, SC, MS1393/ D198, 30 Sept 1834.

³¹ In the 1830s Branston joined Henry Vizetelly's company, which was commended by Henry Cole in relation to both wood engraving and printing: 'But great improvements were introduced by the late Mr Vizetelly and his partner Mr Branston' (*LWR*, 29 [Aug 1838], 264–80 [270]).

³² These are not generally featured in the Longman ledgers in relation to the *GM*, except 'Sowerby for drawings' £2.17s. (Reading, SC, MS1393/D340, 30 June 1826).

engraver to interpret them. The cost, he argues in May 1834, was three times as much as printing or engraving what had already been published.³³ It is not possible to calculate the precise number of engravings produced exclusively for the *Gardener's Magazine* as the original source is not referred to in every case. From year to year, and from number to number, there was considerable variation in the quantity of engravings. In 1829, for example, there were just 18 engravings in August and 46 in December. The figures suggest a mean average of 30 engravings per bimonthly number for that year, and represent a very high proportion of image to text.³⁴

One way of maintaining such a high proportion was not to pay for an original each time but to borrow. In the *Gardener's Magazine* of February 1829, out of a total of 23 images, 14 appear to have been produced from drawings sent in by contributors, while the rest have been published elsewhere. The latter consisted of two landscapes from 'Fieldborg's Germany', another illustrated improvement in ways to lay paving stones and five were engravings from the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*.³⁵ Figure 3.1 shows how illustrations break up the uniformity of a single column page of text. The image on the left-hand page is a botanical illustration of a cinnamon plant not described in the written text which instead, informs the readers about the eradication of slavery under British rule (with the help of 'Rajah Pakse'), concluding with the establishment of 'a Royal Botanical Garden in Ceylon' in 1810.³⁶ The image on the right, of 'Rajah Pakse' in a turban and in a garden of palm trees and Islamic architecture, might suggest gardens as a sign of civilisation. It exemplifies the broader meaning of the 'useful and intelligible' purpose of wood engravings claimed by John Loudon. Such borrowings were, in general, acknowledged and placed within either the 'Reviews' or 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' departments. They were predominantly pictorial and might inform the reader, or draw him/her in to the articles through the change in the appearance of the page.

Other visual material in the *Gardener's Magazine* came from John Loudon's designs, pamphlets and books as we shall see in the next chapter. In common with other magazines of the period, much was cannibalised from elsewhere. Many of

³³ 'Every one who knows anything about getting up a magazine, knows that to receive a M.S. communication and an original sketch or perhaps a model [...] having afterwards to prepare these for the printer or the engraver, is a very different thing from printing or engraving from articles already engraved or printed. We may safely state that, on an average, the expense is treble in one case what it is in the other' (*GM*, 10 [May 1834], 230–32 [232]). This comment is made in relation to the unacknowledged borrowing by Paxton in both the *Horticultural Register* and his *Magazine of Botany*.

³⁴ No. of images in numbers for 1829: Feb = (1–23) T23, April = (24–52) T29, June = (53–80) T28, Aug = (81–98) T18, Oct = (99–132) T33, Dec = (133–178) T46.

³⁵ For Fieldborg's Germany, see 'Denmark' in 'Foreign Notices': *GM*, 5 (Feb 1829), 71–3; 'on Improved Modes of Paving' in 'Domestic Notices: England', *ibid.*, 79; for the five engravings, see 'Asia' in 'Foreign Notices', *ibid.*, 74–7.

³⁶ *GM*, 5 (Feb 1829), 74–7 (75).

Taurida Palace; a projected change which we were not at all surprised to find, considering the great liability of the Apothecaries' Island to inundations of the Neva. Some account of this garden will be found in Vol. I. p. 84. We have tried in vain to obtain a relation of the losses it sustained by an inundation shortly after its completion; but we have not been so unsuccessful in procuring a ground plan, sections, and descriptions of the double quadrangle of hot-houses erected, or to be erected, and which we shall lay before our readers in an early Number. — *Cont.*

ASIA.

The Cinnamon Department of the Island of Ceylon consists of from 25,000 to 30,000 people, who form a separate cast of their own, and who are also generally employed in the cultivation of the cinnamon tree (*Laurus Cinnamomum*) (fig. 17.), and in preparing the bark of that tree for the market. The exportation of this article from Ceylon frequently amounts to 6000 bales, of 80 lbs. each bale. Although the cinnamon grows wild in the south and south-west part of the island, the Dutch and English governments have thought it advantageous to have it cultivated in four or five very large gardens; one of the largest of which, called the Marandam, is close to Colombo; and it is in this that the house and garden of Rajah Pakse (fig. 18.) is situated. From the bark of the cinnamon tree the cinnamon, which is used for culinary purposes, is prepared. It is from the same bark that the cinnamon water and the cinnamon oil are prepared; and also a very fine oil, like the oil of cloves, is prepared from the leaves, and the finest description of camphor from the roots.



from the leaves, and the finest description of camphor from the roots.

Rajah Pakse (fig. 18. a), besides being a man of considerable wealth, has great influence amongst the natives of the country, from his official situation, and is one of the most enlightened and liberal-minded natives in the island of Ceylon. He was the man who was principally employed by Sir Alexander Johnston in carrying into effect the various measures which he, whilst president of His Majesty's council in Ceylon, introduced for raising the moral and political character, and improving the state of the natives of that island. Rajah Pakse was the first great proprietor of slaves, who, on Sir Alexander Johnston's suggestion, adopted the resolution, which was afterwards universally acquiesced in by the natives of all the different casts, for gradually emancipating the whole of their slaves, and thereby putting an end to the state of domestic slavery, which had subsisted for more than three hundred years. It was through his intelligence that Sir Alexander Johnston was enabled to succeed in establishing trial by jury, which was the first instance of that mode having been introduced amongst any natives of India. It was also through his activity that Sir Alexander Johnston, when he collected, for the use of the government, all the customary laws of the various religions and casts in Ceylon, procured the necessary information, to enable him to accomplish that object; and it was from Rajah Pakse's thorough knowledge of the Pali and Sanscrit languages, that Sir Alexander Johnston was enabled to get the translations, which are about to be published by Mr. Upham, of the three original native histories of the Buddhist religion, and of its introduction into Ceylon, which were presented to him by the high priests of that religion on the island, who are looked upon by all those who profess that faith, as well in Ceylon as in the Burmese and Siamese territories, as

the persons who are best acquainted with its doctrines and tenets. The man (fig. 18. b) conversing with Rajah Pakse, is a Mahomedan physician, of whom Sir Alexander Johnston has given the following description in a note to a paper on the history of the Mahomedan inhabitants of Ceylon, presented by him to the Asiatic Society of Literature, and printed in the last number of the proceedings of that Society: —



"I have a copy in my possession of a very curious and very ancient grant in copper, made by one of the Cingalese kings of Ceylon, about six or seven hundred years ago, to a great Mahomedan merchant, who was then residing at Harbareen, in the island of Ceylon, and to his descendants for ever, of certain privileges and immunities, in consequence of his having introduced, from the opposite coast of India, the first weavers of cloth who were ever established in Ceylon. By virtue of this grant, the lineal descendants of that merchant now enjoy, under the British government, a portion of the privileges which were granted to their ancestors by the ancient Cingalese government of the country, and which were successively confirmed to them by the Portuguese, Dutch, and English governments in Ceylon. The chief of this family was appointed by me, in 1806, native superintendent of the medical department, under the control of the Supreme Court. He was considered by the natives of the country as one of the best informed of the native physicians in the island, and possessed one of the best collections of native medical books, most of which had been in his family between seven and eight hundred years; during the whole of which period it had been customary for one member of his family at least to follow the medical profession. This same person made me a very detailed report of all the plants in Ceylon, which have been used from time immemorial for medical purposes by Mahomedan native physicians in that island. The cultivation and improvement of these plants, as well as of all other plants and vegetables in the island, which might be used either for food or commercial purposes, was one of the great objects for which His Majesty's government, at my suggestion, in 1810, established a royal botanical garden in Ceylon."

the images of the early numbers of the *Penny Magazine* for example, were derived from Knight's other publications, which he freely admits: 'the cuts were few in number, and partly selected from another work [...] the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*'.³⁷ Furthermore, as Knight built up the printing technology, Henry Cole, of the *London and Westminster Review* notes that 'casts' of the best cuts were sent to 'every part of the civilised world' for printing in cheap publications.³⁸ Once an engraving had been made, it was used in different contexts in order to reduce the cost of publication and enable different economic groups to view it. There was, however, a difference between the cultures of the 'literary' and the 'technical' periodical regarding the reuse of material. Robertson for the *Mechanics' Magazine* claims that it 'will comprehend a digested selection' from all periodicals from Britain and abroad as well as new work, as long as it is of interest to the 'British Artisan'.³⁹ The technical journal partly depended on ideas recorded either as papers or publicity for an invention or product, to create the contents of 'Original Communications', as well as news-based information, 'Miscellaneous Intelligence'. Its purpose was to disseminate knowledge to a wider public as Brock has observed: 'Covert plagiarism between journals was quite usual, useful insofar as it spread scientific news more widely, and was even essential for the survival of monthly and quarterly periodicals of a non-specialist character'.⁴⁰

During the first years of the production of the *Gardener's Magazine*, John Loudon was accused of plagiarism by the Horticultural Society. His defence was that he was disseminating knowledge to a wider audience than the prohibitive price of the original publication, the *Transactions*, allowed.⁴¹ Loudon repeats in the 1830s that

It is perfectly allowable to quote from a magazine into a larger permanent publication, and the contrary. It is even fair to quote from a magazine that has been several months before the public, into another magazine; or to quote from a magazine treating on one subject, into a magazine which treats on another subject.⁴²

He was, however, critical of the practice when unacknowledged and argued that the *Gardener's Magazine* was a frequent victim.⁴³ He predicted that if magazines

³⁷ *PM*, 1 (1832), iii–iv (iii).

³⁸ *LWR*, 29 (Aug 1838), 265–80 (269).

³⁹ *MeM*, 1 (30 Aug 1823), 16.

⁴⁰ Brock, 'Commercial Science Journals', p. 97.

⁴¹ See 'Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London', *GM*, 2 (March 1827), 414–41 (438).

⁴² 'Paxton's Magazine of Botany', *GM*, 10 (May 1834), 230–32 (231).

⁴³ He accuses the *Horticultural Register* of deriving much material from his own *Magazine*, and worse, 'inserted under the head of Original Communications!!!' (*sic*), *GM*, 10 (May 1834), 230–32 (231). For Paxton's reply see Desmond, 'Horticultural Journalism', p. 93.

could not afford to print original material and circulated the same information, the value to the audience would be much reduced, rendering them ‘almost worthless to the public’.⁴⁴

Within the culture of ‘literary’ periodicals, it was considered bad practice to incorporate articles from other magazines except under the umbrella of ‘Miscellaneous Intelligence’. As we have seen scandal arose over the ‘paid paragraphs’ which Colburn had inserted into other magazines as favourable reviews of his publications in order to sell them. It is generally acknowledged that the growth of periodicals can only be understood if situated within the rise of capitalism. However, as Margaret Beetham has suggested, other factors also come in to play; the desire on the part of the editor or proprietor to disseminate ideas and information to others, and the productivity of the reader in the act of reading.⁴⁵ The distinction between informing readers of that which is new, and of inciting them to buy either the magazine itself, or that which is shown within its pages, is not clear-cut in either genre of periodical. It might be that visual representations of things, such as the flowering plants of horticultural magazines, appear to embody the competing interests of knowledge and consumption.

Advertising or Product Placement

Tax on advertising was expensive. In 1833 it was reduced to 1s. 6d. per advert from a high of 3s. 6d. since 1815, but was not abolished until 1853. In the first two bound volumes of the *Gardener’s Magazine* where advertisements were listed in the contents, an advertising supplement of several pages featured at the end of each quarterly number.⁴⁶ These contained adverts for fruits, seeds and publications, some of which were for Longman, as well as situations vacant and posts required. Despite the tax, Sheets-Pyenson has suggested that Longman sometimes made as much as £11 per number from the adverts of another of John Loudon’s publications, the *Magazine of Natural History* (1828–36).⁴⁷ That the advertisements continued to be added seven years after they have ceased to be listed in the contents (and removed from the bound annual volumes) indicates the value to Longman of advertising in the *Gardener’s Magazine*. This is confirmed in a ‘P.S.’ at the bottom of a letter to John Loudon from Thomas Longman of December 1834: ‘of course we are to stitch in our own advertisements into the above Magazines free of charge as before’.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *GM*, 10 (May 1834), 230–32 (232).

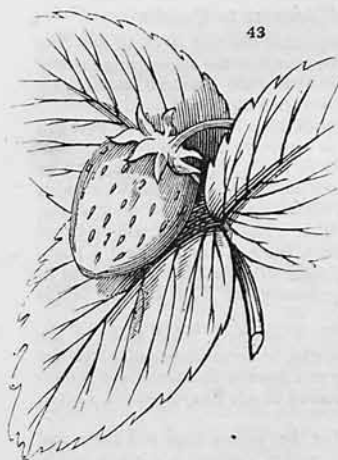
⁴⁵ See Beetham, ‘Theory of the Periodical’, p. 21.

⁴⁶ Except for July 1827.

⁴⁷ See Sheets-Pyenson, ‘A Measure of Success’, 28. Loudon edited the *Magazine* up to 1836 and sold it in 1838. The title changed in 1840 when it merged with the *Annals of Natural History* and was entitled the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*.

⁴⁸ Reading, SC, MS1393/ 1/102/211C.

PART IV.

ADVERTISEMENTS CONNECTED WITH GARDENING AND
RURAL AFFAIRS.

NEW STRAWBERRIES.

BISHOP'S ORANGE (fig. 43). This fine New Strawberry is the largest belonging to that class called Scarlet, but possesses a deep orange colour, whence its name. It will frequently attain four inches and upwards in circumference; but that which particularly recommends this strawberry to notice is, that it is a most abundant bearer, and allowed by all who have eaten of it, to surpass in flavour any strawberry yet known. Also the Early Globe, an extraordinary bearer, and the Cinnamon, a fine fruit, both of which are large and early, being only a day or two later than the Virginian, and, in general, twice its size. Plants of the above are now selling by Messrs. Cormack, Son, and Sinclair, 53, Regent Street; Messrs. Buchanan and Oldroyd, Camberwell; and by Robert Bishop, New Scone, near Perth, at 50s. per score. When more than three score are purchased, 30 per cent. discount is allowed.

**J. WILMOT** of Isleworth,

Middlesex, has raised a new and very superior Strawberry, named Wilmot's Superb (fig. 44). The size of the fruit is from six to eight inches in circumference; weight from one to two ounces, far exceeding any other variety in beauty, appearance, and flavour ever raised in England.

Orders received by Mr. Grange, Fruiterer, Covent Garden; and by J. Wilmot, Isleworth.

E. WEIR respectfully informs

the PUBLIC, that every Description of **AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, MACHINES**, and, in particular, all those mentioned in Mr. Loudon's *Encyclopædia of Agriculture*, and in the *Gardener's Magazine*, are now for inspection, at 369 Oxford Street, where may be had McIntosh's New VERGE CUTTER, and Improved ORANGE TUB, described in No. 11. of the Magazine. The price of the former, with Two Sets of Irons, is 15s.; that of the Orange Tub depends upon its Size.

WANTS a Situation as GAR-

DENER, a respectable young Man, (age 28,) who perfectly understands the Management of the Kitchen Garden, Forcing and Framing; also the Propagation and Culture of Stove, Conservatory, and Green-house Plants; Flower-Garden, and Forcing of Flowers, &c. Can have a good character from the Nobleman he last lived with two years.— Letters addressed to, H. J. No. 2, Vauxhall Walk, Vauxhall, will be immediately attended to.— The Advertiser would prefer the country to the neighbourhood of London.

Fig. 3.2

Illustrated advertisement, *Gardener's Magazine*, 1 (April 1826),
230 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 2200

In contrast to Longman, Richard Taylor, editor and publisher of the *Annals of Natural History* (1838–67), accepted the loss of £54 for the cost of production of adverts from 1838 to 1839 as Brock has indicated, because many were for scientific books produced by his own company.⁴⁹ This was the only means of keeping the public informed of what was available and the loss incurred was carried because of the possibility of future purchasers for his publications.

Most adverts in the *Gardener's Magazine* took up a few lines of column space, but some were illustrated. As blocks were expensive, there was a trade in them between printers. The style for one such advert, for new kinds of strawberries in the April number of 1826 (Figure 3.2), is in keeping with botanical drawings of the *Gardener's Magazine* in terms of weight of line and indication of shade. Illustrated adverts indicate an awareness by the producer that visual representation might persuade the viewer to buy. After 1827, when adverts disappear from the bound copies of the *Magazine* that I have seen, there is evidence of them appearing on the wrappers.⁵⁰ Advertising provided a source of revenue whether incorporated onto the wrappers or sewn into the *Magazine*. Both Brake and Beetham have drawn attention to the adverts that have disappeared and have argued that in consequence the perception of the periodical as a material object by modern readers is much diminished.⁵¹

Alternatively, some of the pictorial material and its accompanying letterpress that appear within the 'Original Communications' department of the *Gardener's Magazine* read like adverts to the twenty-first-century reader. In the bimonthly number for June 1829, for example, 'Mr Robert Roberts, Plumber, Glazier and Gas Proprietor' of Oswestry, Salop, presents a favourable description with engravings in plan and elevation of an 'Ornamental Conservatory in the Grecian Style of Architecture' (not shown).⁵² In the small print the reader is informed that 'this conservatory is to be disposed of, and would be an acquisition to any gentleman or lady who may be in want of such an addition to their pleasure-grounds or mansion' and to apply to Mr Robert Roberts if interested.⁵³ The desirability of the conservatory is presented within a discourse of aesthetic theory and practice as it is followed by the critical comments of 'J.P.', a co-contributor, who proposes an alternative design. The above is exemplary of a number of articles incorporating

⁴⁹ See Brock, 'Commercial Science Journals', p. 100.

⁵⁰ 'Our readers may recollect the advertisements of Dr. Lippold on the wrapper of former numbers of this Magazine – in some of which he proposed giving lessons in German, French, botany, the classics, natural history, theology, &C., for a shilling a lesson; and, in others he proposed to go out to some foreign country as a botanical collector' ('A Botanical Collector' in 'Domestic Notices: England', *GM*, 13 (April 1837), 184–5 (184).

⁵¹ See Beetham, 'Theory of the Periodical', p. 23; Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition 1850–1910: Studies in Media and Book History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2001), p. xiii.

⁵² Robert Roberts and 'J.P.', 'Description of an Ornamental Conservatory', *GM*, 5 (June 1829), 268–70.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 268.

text and image that appear in the *Gardener's Magazine*. It was, I suggest, in the interests of the publisher, the contributor and the editor to present such material under the 'original Communications', 'Miscellaneous Intelligence', or, as in the case of Longman books, 'Reviews' departments because the cost of printing such material as an advertisement would have been prohibitive.

Types of Image

In August 1839 John Loudon reviewed and included excerpts from the *Sketcher's Manual* (1837) by Frank Howard (1805–1866), providing useful distinctions for different kinds of visual image: 'The term Picture is here used in a general sense, as meaning an agreeable object, or combination of objects, for contemplation; and Pictorial Effect is the term applied to that quality which distinguishes a Picture from a diagram or map'.⁵⁴ 'Pictorial Effect' implies the use of light and shade to define form, and the use of perspective. Incorporating the ideas of Archibald Alison, who had argued in his *Essays on the Principles of Taste* (1790) in the late eighteenth century, that art is synonymous with civilisation, the picture is associated with leisure and forms part of polite aesthetic discourse in contrast to the diagram and map which belong to scientific discourse. A minority of images in the *Gardener's Magazine* are pictorial (see below), but the majority fall into the scientific category. John Loudon argued, as we have seen, that the engravings of the *Magazine* are 'sufficiently intelligible for all useful purposes'.⁵⁵ He was not suggesting they possessed aesthetic value, but their presence on the page obliges the reader, whether artisan or philanthropist, to consider them.

The Sketch

Many images of machines and implements that feature in the *Gardener's Magazine* are prefixed by the term 'sketch'. One meaning of the sketch is that of 'a rough drawing or delineation of something, giving the outlines or prominent features without the detail' (*SOED*), and this seems to be the category into which most of the sketches of the *Magazine* fall.⁵⁶ An article on protecting peas is accompanied by a 'sketch', for example, and a 'sectional sketch' appears representing wind damage to plantations on the coast.⁵⁷ During a tour of the North and East of England, John Loudon visited a major manufacturer of agricultural implements.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Howard, *The Sketcher's Manual; or the Whole Art of Picture Making Reduced to the Simplest Principles* (London: Darton and Clark, 1837), pp. viii–ix. 'The Sketcher's Manual', *GM*, 15 (Aug 1839), 470.

⁵⁵ *GM*, 2 (March 1827), 414–44 (438).

⁵⁶ Occasionally, images of landscape are prefixed by the 'sketch'.

⁵⁷ See C. P., 'On Protecting Peas, and other early Crops', *GM*, 18 (March 1842), 187, and, T. Rutger, 'On raising Plantations near the Sea', *GM*, 10 (Oct 1834), 495–9 (496).

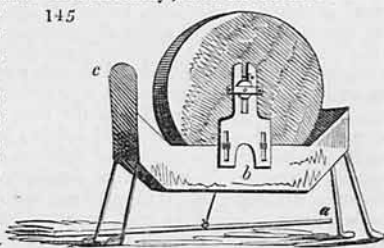
⁵⁸ 'Garden Memorandums made during a Tour', *GM*, 5 (Dec 1829), 671–84.

the place is examined the more is the first impression confirmed. A fire, which happened in 1810, laid half the building in ruins, and in that state it still remains. The walls of the kitchen-garden, all the pleasure-ground, which bears some interesting marks of the old style of art, and the ruins of a hot-house, built in the Dutch style, with oak rafters of ample dimensions, still remain. A temporary abode for the proprietor during his occasional visits has been formed by additions to a cottage, to which are appended a small piece of modern shrubbery and a pond; for pleasure-ground to a gentleman is a necessary of life. The church is particularly interesting from the antiquity and excellence of its family monuments. The park is extensive, but dreary; it is deficient in timber, especially near the roads, and in water; the latter is confined in detached ponds, formed by throwing dams across hollows, and is not managed with any reference to general effect. The whole place forms a fine scene for some future improver.

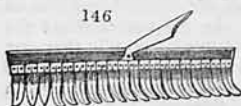
At *Grantham* is one of the largest manufactories in England, for agricultural implements, by Seaman and Hornsby; and an extensive iron-

mongery warehouse and manufactory, by Messrs. Rodgers and Shipman. We looked over their premises, and took sketches of the following articles:—A cast-iron frame for a grindstone (*fig. 145.*), which any person wishing to grind an instrument may turn for himself, by operating with his foot on the treadle (*a*), and which frame can be adjusted to a small or large grindstone, or altered as the stone wears out, from the construction of the support for the gudgeon (*b*); a loose shield of sheet iron (*c*) is used to protect the operator from the water thrown off by the wheel when in motion. A daisy rake (*fig. 146.*); iron measure for filling sacks with corn (*fig. 147.*); steel-yard and

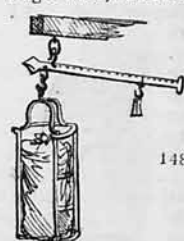
145



146



iron frame for weighing sacks (*fig. 148.*); and guard for single trees, and small groups of two or three trees, or



a tree and shrub planted in one hole (*fig. 149.*). We never before saw such expensive and durable fences for single trees. They can only be wanted for very particular situations; for in most parts of England trees may be got and planted, which will succeed perfectly well, of such a size as to admit

147



148 of protection by tying round them a few rods, laths, or thorn bushes, and wrapping them round with straw or with shoots of bramble, or working a wicker case on them. The adoption

of either of these modes is on the supposition, that the tree is closely cut in, or that if the situation is exposed, and the head entire, or nearly so, the stem must be tied to a stake. We are aware of the common assertion, that single trees cannot be grown in exposed situations, or that sufficiently large trees cannot be got, &c.; but we know, from many years' experience, that the first is only an excuse for planting unsightly lumpish clumps to nurse up

149

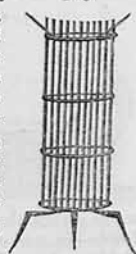


Fig. 3.3

Small 'sketches' made on a gardening tour, *Gardener's Magazine*, 5 (Dec 1829), 674 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 2200

He and his assistant 'looked over their premises and took sketches'.⁵⁹ Some of these are extremely small (2 cm wide) single line images, including 'a daisy rake', an 'iron measure for filling sacks with corn' and an 'iron frame for weighing sacks' (Figure 3.3).⁶⁰ Their value lies in the moment when they were made and the information they are conveying rather than aesthetic merit. John Loudon's use of the term 'sketch' suggests a tool of science that represents something incomplete, but which provides an accurate assessment. The 'science' of the intention might also be allied to journalistic modesty.

The 'sketch' also had imaginative associations. Popularised by the once influential William Gilpin (1724–1804) in his *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty* of 1792, Gilpin had suggested that the sketch is as much a work of imagination as of observation; the sketcher has to forget what he or she actually sees and recreate a picturesque composition that is rarely to be found in natural landscape. More than 30 years later Howard also insists that composition is important as 'Unity is indispensable to Pictorial Effect'.⁶¹ The title for his *Sketcher's Manual or the Whole Art of Picture Making* indicates that sketching was still a fashionable activity and practised, generally, by wealthier readers. The fashionable sketch, at that time, had a different purpose and context, but it was useful for John Loudon to use the term to engage different classes of readers. The sketch, within both these contrasting contexts, is the product of the non-professional artist. What they share, as Martina Lauster has suggested in her discussion of the sketch in nineteenth century journalism, is a 'rhetoric of modesty and authenticity'.⁶²

The Diagram

John Loudon's use of the term 'diagram' is based on kinetic process and applied mainly to man-made objects. With just one diagram in the annual volume of 1826 and 25 in 1842, the number of diagrams varied from month to month and from year to year.⁶³ However, the number of diagrams increased in the 1840s when the number of images as a whole had fallen to around 3 per cent, largely because they were very small line images, and cheap to produce. The increase in diagrams and tables and the reduction of pictorial images coincides with John Loudon taking on the full costs of publishing the *Magazine* and sustaining the financial losses of the *Arboretum*.

The cross section of the 'Anatomy of the vine' (Figure 3.4), which John Loudon called a diagram, was unusual for the *Magazine* in the scale of its subject and the

⁵⁹ Ibid., 674.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Howard, p. 2.

⁶² Lauster, p. 4. This might be more relevant to sketches of landscape (and of people) than to the sketches of implements in *GM*.

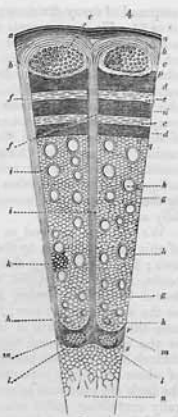
⁶³ Sampling of diagrams: vol. 1 (1826) 1/100, 5 (1829) 33/178, 10 (1834) 16/97, 15 (1839) 24/175 and 18 (1842) 25/77.

of the liber, and nearest to it, is the sap wood or albumum, full of small holes; on the margin of the pith, including a little of the pointed parts of the divisions of the albumum, is the medulla sheath; and, in the centre of the whole, is the pith or medulla. In my future description I shall use the word *albumum* for the sap wood, *medulla* for the pith, and *cuticle* for the outward covering of the whole.

Fig. 4. is supposed to represent a horizontal view of two entire divisions, with the precipitate upon them, instead of one, for the sake of exhibiting the cellular or divergent ray between them. It is drawn upon a large scale, that the larger vessels, which compose a division, may be the more conspicuously seen.

<i>a a</i> , Cuticle	- - -			
<i>b b</i> , Cellular texture	- - -			
<i>c c</i> , Vascular texture	- - -			
<i>d d d</i> , Fleecy vessels	- - -	These form the Liber from <i>p</i> to <i>q</i> .	}	These together are commonly called the Bark.
<i>e e</i> , Ligneous vessels	- - -			
<i>f f</i> , Cellular or divergent rays of the bark	- - -			
<i>g g</i> , Concentric layer	- - -	These form the Albumum from <i>q</i> to <i>r</i> .	}	These together are commonly called the Sap Wood.
<i>h h</i> , Ascending sap-vessels	- - -			
<i>i i</i> , Cellular rays	- - -			
<i>k</i> , Horizontal vessels	- - -	These form the Medullary Sheath from <i>r</i> to <i>s</i> .	}	
<i>l</i> , Primitive concentric layer, wherein are	- - -			
<i>m m</i> , The spiral vessels	- - -			
<i>n</i> , Medulla.	- - -			

Fearful that *fig. 4.* may not have been sufficiently explanatory to a beginner, I beg to recommend his dissecting a collet himself, of $\frac{1}{4}$ in. long; but, previously, let it lie 48 hours in water. Then, with the assistance of a moderate magnifying



glass, the various parts will be readily discovered, lying in a longitudinal direction, somewhat similar to *fig. 5.*; and, as he proceeds, let him compare the parts, as they arise to his view, with the engraving, that he may know what to remove and what to leave.

n b c d represent the outward appearance of a collet, except at *e f*, where the two layers of the cuticle are separated.

k, The cellular texture, which lies under the cuticle, as well as round the bundles of the vascular texture at *k*; and it invariably lies between every division of the bark and of the albumum, forming the cellular or divergent rays.

i i, Various bundles of vascular texture, from which the cellular texture is removed, that they may be more distinctly seen; at *k* it is left, but the ends of the bundles may be seen at *k*.

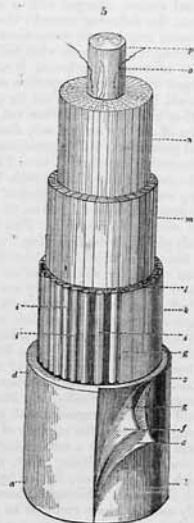
m n, The liber; each division that composes it lies under its own particular vascular bundle; see the tops of them lying in front of each division of liber, from *l* to the opposite side.

n, The albumum containing the ligneous divisions, which correspond exactly in number with the divisions of the liber and vascular bundles.

o, The medullary sheath, composed of the primitive concentric layer with the spiral vessels therein.

P, The medulla.

I shall refrain from further observations on *figs. 4* and *5.* conceiving that the dissection of the collet, with their assistance, will have been sufficient to enable a beginner to comprehend and distinguish the various parts that compose a division. I will now proceed to describe the ascending sap-vessels of the albumum, marked *h h* in *fig. 4.* A longitudinal



degree of detail. The contributor, Walter William Capper of Bath, recommends that for gardeners to repeat his experiment they should procure three glass jars.⁶⁴ Tax on glass was not abolished until 1845 and most working gardeners would have been excluded from the experiment. The recreation of laboratory type conditions in the home with the use of the 'strong magnifying glass' or a microscope was the privilege of the wealthiest readers.⁶⁵ Microscopes, medical science and botany had a long history and close-ups of this kind were printed in the papers of the Linnaean Society and Royal Society in treatises on anatomy. This is a reflection of the different discourses of what Sheets-Pyenson has called the 'high' sciences practised by the wealthy, whose publications were 'devoid of technological and practical matters', and, in general, reflected their 'social prejudices'.⁶⁶ The principle of exclusion by scientific experts has been modified by Anne Secord in her discussion of scientific illustration.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the rarity of this kind of close-up in the *Gardener's Magazine*, might suggest a more diverse readership.

Botanical Illustration

There are some close-ups of plants indicating their sex, following the conventions of botanical illustration. The majority, however, show that which could be seen by the observant person, the plant in its seasons and its seeds. These images like that of the cinnamon plant (left, Figure 3.1) were listed in the engravings column of the contents pages of the annual volumes as 'plants', 'fruits' or 'arboriculture'. The lack of emphasis on botany in the *Gardener's Magazine* in comparison with traditional horticultural periodicals is indicated by the generally low percentage of single plant images throughout the *Magazine's* history. Starting off with around 25 per cent in 1826, 20 per cent in 1829 (mainly borrowings from other horticultural magazines) and 15 per cent for 1839 (mainly produced for the *Arboretum*), there are no images of single plants in 1834 and 1842.⁶⁸

One of the factors contributing the low number of plant images in the *Gardener's Magazine* may have been that John Loudon could not afford to pay illustrators. In contrast, specialist plant illustrator James de Carle Sowerby (1787–1871), a botanist and a member of the Linnaean Society, produced 'nearly ten

⁶⁴ See Capper, 'On the Anatomy of the Vine', *GM*, 6 (Feb 1830), 12–25 (13).

⁶⁵ Ibid. Known owners of microscopes included Robert Brown, the Hookers at Kew, George Bentham, Charles Darwin and the Prince of Wales (George IV). See Brian J. Ford, *Images of Science: A History of Scientific Illustration* (London: British Library, 1992), p. 184.

⁶⁶ Sheets-Pyenson, 'Popular Science Periodicals in Paris and London: The Emergence of Low Scientific Culture, 1820–1875', *Annals of Science*, 42: 6 (1985), 549–72 (555).

⁶⁷ See A. Secord, 'Botany on a Plate: Pleasure and the Power of Pictures in Promoting Early Nineteenth-Century Scientific Knowledge', *Isis* 93 (March 2002), 28–57.

⁶⁸ No. of plant illustrations, samplings: vol. 1 (1826) 24/100, 5 (1829) 42/178, 10 (1834) 0/97, 15 (1839) 20/175 and 18 (1842) 0/77.

thousand little drawings' for the *Encyclopaedia of Plants* (1829), also published by Longman.⁶⁹ Sowerby may well have been paid directly by the publisher. He was one of a family of illustrators – his father was James Sowerby, who did the illustrations for the first four volumes of Curtis's *Botanical Magazine*, and was himself a publisher and botanist. De Carle's brother was George Brettigham Sowerby, also an illustrator and a conchologist. As with Maund and Curtis, the family was the base for skills which made up a print, publishing or illustrating business. As budgets for the *Gardener's Magazine* shrank, John Loudon trained members of his own family to draw plants and make wood engravings, as we will see in later chapters.

The relative paucity of plant images in the *Gardener's Magazine* did not prevent John Loudon from criticizing others. In the seventeenth century, the practice of drawing had been perceived as 'an adjunct to scientific inquiry and knowledge', as Ann Bermingham has observed in her discussion of drawing as a cultural art.⁷⁰ The tradition of botanists and scientists drawing their own images in order to preserve the authenticity of their observations continued, in general, into the eighteenth century. John Loudon's criticism of Paxton's *Magazine of Botany and Register of Flowering Plants* (1834–39) that it might be more useful to cotton manufacturers than botanists because some of the images were decorative and not scientifically accurate, might be read as a dig by one editor against a rival publication.⁷¹ It reflected, however, broader concerns within scientific circles that science illustrations 'could appeal to the senses or the emotions, and not to the rational faculties'.⁷²

Both William Kilburn (1745–1818) and Walter Hood Fitch (1817–92), illustrators for Curtis's *Botanical Magazine*, had associations with fabric printing and design. When William Hooker (1785–1865), first became editor of the *Botanical Magazine* in 1827, he went against the nineteenth-century trend to employ illustrators, and did his own. He was, however, persuaded that Fitch's skill could advance botany as a science by appealing to a broader audience and develop its powers of observation. Images of science were acceptable in more expensive journals, with circulation in the low thousands, but were a source of anxiety in cheap publications. The perception of experts was that educated people could rise to abstract thought through the pleasure of images, but that the poor were generally incapable of doing so. In his discussion of the dissemination of science through the press in the late nineteenth century, James Mussell has observed the

⁶⁹ Blunt, p. 192.

⁷⁰ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 89.

⁷¹ Loudon, *GM*, 10 (May 1834), 230–32 (232).

⁷² Lightman, *Victorian Popularisers of Science: Designing Science for New Audiences* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 138. The debate surfaced in the late 1830s and focused on how to manage the sensory pleasure of pictures. See also A. Secord, 'Botany on a Plate'.

conflict between elite scientists keen to preserve the 'authoritative space' of the gentleman's laboratory, and the press, whereby the reproduction of images made science accessible to large numbers of readers.⁷³

The Photograph

There was much debate amongst horticultural periodicals at this time over which printing technique, out of the increasing choice available, might be the most appropriate for the accurate and pleasing reproduction of botanical images, whether in terms of line – copperplate, steel, wood and lithography, or colour, with alternatives to hand-colouring being developed.⁷⁴ It was frustration at his limited drawing ability that led William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877) to experiment with the production of images of plants through material sensitive to light. He gave a paper on 'photogenic' drawings in 1839, soon after Daguerre had started to publicise his alternative method for producing images in Paris.⁷⁵

In the *Gardener's Magazine* of August 1839, John Loudon includes an account of Daguerre's photography given in the *Athenaeum* by Sir John Robison ('J.R.').⁷⁶ He described it as 'a mode of drawing or delineating by light' and considered it superior to the 'photogenic' drawing of Fox Talbot because of the 'perfection and fidelity' of the resulting image, and the speed of the process; within two or three minutes the prepared paper, when it is exposed, will reproduce an image "more minute in its details and more perfect in its proportions, than the most skilful artist could produce".⁷⁷ 'In a letter to us', John Loudon notes 'J.R.'s' recommendation to publishers that Daguerre's photography appears to be more efficient and cheaper than the drawn 'sketch' to capture things as they appear, although the engraver still has to interpret the image to make it fit for print. A more or less static image however, was essential:

A dozen exquisite views of York or Westminster Cathedral, under different effects of light, may be obtained at less expense than an inaccurate sketch of a cottage can be got for at present: even your *Arboreteum* may benefit from the occasional dead calms enabling you to get identical portraits of fine trees.⁷⁸

Since the *Arboretum* had been completed in 1838, the year before photographic processes began to be reported in the press (and months before 'J.R.'s' letter

⁷³ See Mussell, *Science, Time and Space in the Late Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 54.

⁷⁴ The use of multiple woodblocks to overprint colour was developed by George Baxter (1804–67) and provided an alternative to hand-colouring.

⁷⁵ See Bermingham for an account of Fox Talbot's development of photography and the overlapping chronology in relation to Daguerre's discoveries, pp. 235–43.

⁷⁶ *Athenaeum* (8 June 1839), 435–6.

⁷⁷ 'Daguerre's Photography', in 'General Notices', *GM*, 15 (Aug 1839), 473.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

dated June 1839), the suggestion as far as John Loudon was concerned, was somewhat belated. Indeed, photographs do not appear commonly in magazines and newspapers until the later nineteenth century. This may have been because, as Bermingham has observed, the series of stages involved in the production of the Daguerrotype lent itself to a 'factory-like' division of labour.⁷⁹

Photographs were used for portraits and topographical subjects almost as soon as the processes were publicized. Although Longman published Fox Talbot's *Pencil of Nature* in 1844, one of the first books illustrated with photographs, Bermingham has suggested that the 'negative, positive paper prints' photographic process developed by Talbot lent itself to the activity of the individual or the wealthy amateur. Hence, photography remained broadly within the domestic sphere for almost half a century.

Pictures, Vignettes and Plans

Pictorial images constitute the minority of those in the *Gardener's Magazine* and there are very few portraits. Those which do feature, such as that of David Douglas (Figure 2.4), suggest the principle of emulation discussed by Patricia Anderson in her history of the printed image, in which the portrait represents a person whose achievements and personality set an example to the reader.⁸⁰ Topographical drawings are much more in evidence; some were produced exclusively for the *Gardener's Magazine*, others were sourced from other publications, and most were presented in vignette form as we will see in the case study of Cheshunt Cottage. A separate category of 'plans' described those diagrams of relatively static situations such as the land or house. Considerable advances had been made in techniques of mapping with new instruments for measuring and new conventions for drawing in the later eighteenth century; these will also be referred to in relation to the case study of Cheshunt Cottage.

The expansion in the number of plans within the pages of the *Gardener's Magazine* coincides with the completion of the *Arboretum* in 1838 and the reduction in the number of images of trees and plants. The subjects of the plans within the list of engravings in the contents for the bound volumes of the magazine provide tangible signs of changes in readership.⁸¹ The 'Plans of Gardens and Parks' of the first years have, by 1839, become 'Plans of Gardens and Country Residences' and by 1842 'Plans of Houses, Gardens and Grounds'. The 'Park' was generally part of a large estate belonging to the landed gentry and suggests a wealthy (if philanthropic) readership including gardeners. The disappearance of the 'Park' in

⁷⁹ Bermingham, p. 237.

⁸⁰ See Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 57.

⁸¹ Samplings of plans. I have included those listed under 'plans' in the table of contents and 'plans' listed in other categories: vol. 1 (1826) 6/100, 5 (1829) 11/178, 10 (1834) 14/97, 15 (1839) 18/175 and 18 (1842) 8/77.

the list of engravings and the inclusion of buildings instead, suggest a readership of owners or renters of smaller scale gardens and grounds with an interest in how the home worked, as well as an audience of gardeners.⁸²

A similar shift in audience is implied by the disappearance of the term 'Landscapes' to describe pictorial imagery in the list of engravings. With just two 'Landscapes' of houses (out of 97 engravings) in 1834, by 1839 these are termed 'Views' and might be of 'Garden Scenery' or, as in 1842, 'Views of Buildings and Garden Scenery'. These adjustments in taxonomy might reflect a more urban ethos and a shift away from the predominantly rural concerns of the early numbers of the *Magazine*.

Case Study on the Plurality of Image and Text in an Article on 'Cheshunt Cottage'

Between 1838 and 1840, a series of articles under the title of 'Descriptive Notices of select Suburban Residences, with Remarks on each; intended to illustrate the Principles and Practice of Landscape-Gardening' appeared in the *Gardener's Magazine*. The articles were mostly researched and written by John Loudon, with images especially produced in some cases, generally within the 'Original Communications' department and as the leading item of each number. The title of the series recalled the work of Humphry Repton, whose *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, first published in volume form in 1803, made recommendations on the aesthetics and construction of landscape and architecture for the landed gentry. John Loudon's periodical series on suburban homes of several decades later, may have been part of his editorial strategy to maintain a metropolitan, less wealthy, middle-class and female audience, as some articles were also printed in his *Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, which was intended 'more particularly for the use of ladies'.⁸³ At the same time, cheaper publications such as the *Gardener's Gazette*, established in 1837, and the first horticultural newspaper, were diverting the readership of professional gardeners.

My focus is the small seven acre Cheshunt estate of Mr Harrison featured in December 1839.⁸⁴ It is, John Loudon claims, exemplary of the Gardenesque, an aesthetic of planting he developed based on science.⁸⁵ More suited to the modest acreage of the middle classes, it did not depend for its effect on the broader canvas of the Picturesque derived from the composition of the paintings of Claude, or the re-creation of 'natural' landscape produced by Capability Brown on aristocratic estates to enhance and disguise economic productivity. As Heath Schenker has argued in her essay on the contribution of John Loudon and Jane Webb Loudon

⁸² These gardens were large by twenty-first-century standards as they might include working farms.

⁸³ Loudon, *The Suburban Gardener* (frontispiece).

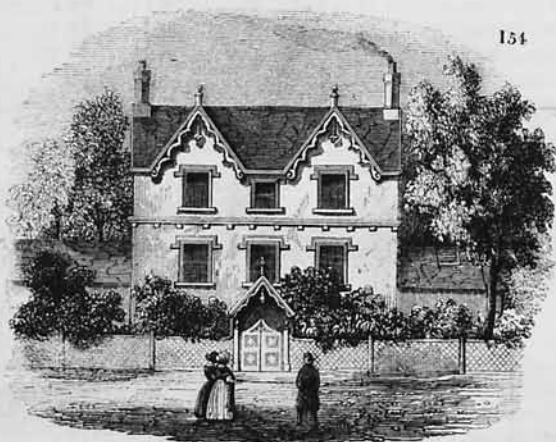
⁸⁴ 'Cheshunt Cottage', *GM*, 15 (Dec 1839), 633–74.

⁸⁵ See *ibid.*, 670.

THE
GARDENER'S MAGAZINE,
 DECEMBER, 1839.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

ART. I. *Descriptive Notices of select Suburban Residences, with Remarks on each; intended to illustrate the Principles and Practice of Landscape-Gardening.* By the CONDUCTOR.



Cheshunt Cottage, from the Road.

NO. 13. CHESHUNT COTTAGE, THE RESIDENCE OF WM. HARRISON, ESQ.,
 F.L.S. G.S. A.S. Z.S., &c.

"All that can render a country seat delightful, and a well furnished library in the house." (*Evelyn's Memoirs by Bray*, vol. i. p. 432.)

THE sides of the road from London to Cheshunt, by Stoke Newington, Edmonton, and Enfield Wash, are thickly studded with suburban houses and gardens the whole distance; but, by going straight on through the Ball's Pond turnpike, and taking the country road leading out of Newington Green, called the Green Lanes, between the Tottenham and Edmonton road and the Barnet road, and threading our way through numerous interesting lanes, we may pass through very rural and umbrageous

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Fig. 3.5

Cheshunt Cottage seen from the road, *Gardener's Magazine*, 15
 (Dec 1839), 633 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 2200

to the development of the domestic garden, the Gardenesque can be more clearly understood in a social context, rather than within an aesthetic narrative of garden history.⁸⁶

The plurality of forms of image with which the house and its land are represented in the Cheshunt text, would have been recognised by its readers. We have seen that Howard differentiated between the polite, aesthetic discourse of the picture and the scientific or technical discourse of the diagram or plan in his *Sketcher's Manual*. The combined presence in the Cheshunt article of these diverse genres of image supports the disparate elements of the text, which range from lists derived from the plans and the vocabulary of scientific discourse to the aesthetic discourse of a travel narratives or garden tours. My argument is that these images and texts compete for the reader's attention, to the extent that his/her status is continually shifting between that of 'spectator' and 'young gardener'. This creates a specific political dynamic which may have alienated the wealthier reader.

Despite its proximity to London, the rusticity of Cheshunt is clearly established on the journey through 'numerous little interesting lanes' which are 'very rural and umbrageous', and with the first engraving of the Cheshunt cottage itself (Figure 3.5).⁸⁷ John Loudon addresses the 'spectator', the 'citizen', the 'amateur' and the 'stranger', who are of similar rank, but with a variety of interests.⁸⁸ He or she might aspire to live in a house, or 'cottage', 'replete with every description of accommodation and convenience requisite for the enjoyment of all the comforts and luxuries that a man of taste can desire for himself or his friends'.⁸⁹ The spectator is set apart from the world of work and has the wealth and leisure to look beyond his or her own life and observe works of art and other countries and cultures. His or her province might be derived from the 'picturesque eye' suggested by William Gilpin, which is to '*survey nature*; not to *anatomise matter*', and which '*examines parts*, but never descends to *particles*'.⁹⁰ We shall see, however, that because the *Gardener's Magazine* involves the reader in the means of production of the garden, his/her status shifts between polite spectator and producer/gardener.

The reader/viewer as spectator is signalled in both captions of two large full-page vignettes in the opening pages, 'View from the Drawingroom Window at Cheshunt Cottage, looking to the Left' (not shown), and 'View from the Drawingroom Window at Cheshunt Cottage looking to the Right' (Figure 3.6). The 'view' here identifies the leisured reader, perhaps of Howard or Gilpin, who might make sketches of the surrounding landscape (a figure of a woman sketching is portrayed on the left-hand edge of the view 'looking to the Left'). Furthermore, the indeterminate edge of the form of the vignette itself, makes it, as John Ruskin suggested at the time, a vehicle of the aesthetic imagination: 'All harshness is thus

⁸⁶ See Schenker, 'Women, Gardens and the English Middle Class', p. 337.

⁸⁷ *GM*, 15 (Dec 1839), 633–74 (631).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 639, 635, 637, 641.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 637.

⁹⁰ Gilpin (his italics), p. 26; Bermingham, p. 93.

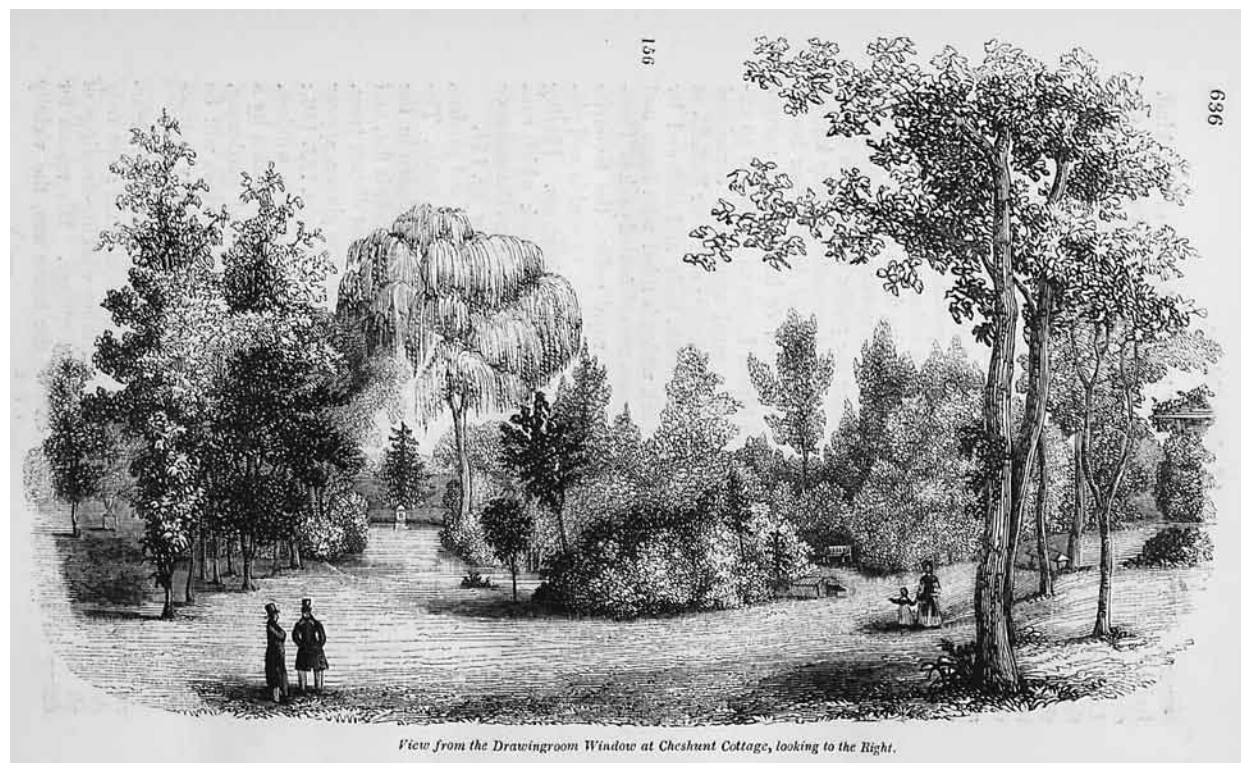


Fig. 3.6 'View from the Drawingroom Window at Cheshunt Cottage looking to the Right', *Gardener's Magazine*, 15 (Dec 1839), 636 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 2200

avoided; and we feel as if we might see more if we chose, beyond the dreamy and undecided limit, but have no desire to move the eye from its indicated place of rest'.⁹¹

The effect of women and children represented in these views naturalises their place in the garden, suggesting its domestic purpose. The representation of the two men in the foreground (Figure 3.6) however, might signal their control of it. Different kinds of trees and shrubs are dotted across the flat plain, and John Loudon warns his readers that 'the beauties of the place, to a stranger at his first glance, appear of the quiet and melancholy kind'.⁹² He implies that appreciation of the Gardenesque style of planting, achieved at Cheshunt Cottage through the efforts of Mr Harrison the proprietor and Mr Pratt the head gardener depends on 'nearer examination' of the vegetation, and knowledge of it. The Gardenesque could be combined with a variety of gardening styles, but at Cheshunt trees are scattered singly, both to break up the view and to encourage them to grow to their 'natural shape'.⁹³

A list of the plants on the lawn depicted in the drawing room views, towards the end of the article (more than 30 pages after the vignette) may have been part of his strategy to engage the 'spectator' or garden visitor for the first part, leaving the scientist and practical gardener to persevere to the end. The list, however, conveys the impression of abundance and diversity more effectively: the darkness of the pine, the starkness of 'naked' poplars, the contrast of leaf size, variety of form, and the varied colours of vegetation, with 'green-barked shoots', 'yellowish leaves' and the 'purple' of beech and hazel, culminating in the 'scarlet' arbutus.⁹⁴ The differing forms, textures and colours of the 'Montpelier maple', the 'American oaks', the 'Kentucky coffee tree', the 'Oriental plane' and the 'Nepal sorbus', also exemplify the Gardenesque as the product of, and a contributing factor towards, the expansion of empire.⁹⁵

The vignettes 'from the Drawingroom Window' then, represent an outdoor laboratory, whose value lies in identification of species. Their accuracy is suggested by the precision of the captions 'looking to the left' and 'looking to the right'. These remind the reader of the authenticity of the material, and the effort that has gone into the creation of the image at a time when copies of paintings and standard cuts (cf. Bewick) and borrowings from other publications were common illustrative devices. The value of the place and moment at which the drawing has been made has more in common with John Loudon's use of the term 'sketch'.

⁹¹ John Ruskin ('Kata Phusin'), in *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq., Being His Entire Works on These Subjects*; a new edition, (ed.) John Loudon (London: printed for the Editor, sold by Longman; Edinburgh: sold by A. C. Black, 1840) pp. 32–8 (p. 37).

⁹² *GM*, 15 (Dec 1839), 633–74 (635).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 607.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 670.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Other forms of visual representation, plans and diagrams, suggest alternative agendas, and, as the opening vignettes are succeeded by a series of plans of the house and its surrounding land, the reader's status shifts, as they enable her/him to understand structure. The linear plan of the house (not shown) shows numerous room and passages, including a library and museum confirming that 'Cheshunt Cottage' is the residence of a gentleman. Female readers might be interested in the plans, particularly of the house, as historians have shown that the maintenance of the home (apart from the aristocracy) involved the house as well as duties on the surrounding land, because so much housekeeping was still linked up with husbandry in the early nineteenth century.⁹⁶

A plan (Figure 3.7) displaying the whole of the estate; the house and offices, the farm and the pleasure grounds, is positioned towards the end of the text. The shadow of trees and the rendering of the architecture of the estate plan offer a three-dimensional, polite, view, representing the extent of the property, which would have been useful in legal disputes involving ownership and property boundaries.

In contrast, the buildings represented on the plan of the working areas (Figure 3.8), are linear in order that the letters on them, indicating their function, can be clearly seen. The vegetation is tonally represented but without the projected shadow of the estate plan. The simpler style of the working plan clarifies instead the different areas within the estate and the communities that serve them, showing how they coexist in a healthy and efficient way. The visibility of the servants questions the assumption of every rank in its place: the house of Mr Harrison, the proprietor, is off limits while the privy of Mr Pratt the head gardener, is just off the centre of the page (Figure 3.8; by no. '23'), and suggests his primary role in the running of the estate. The working plan, then, draws the attention of readers to the significant role and value of servants.

The privy for the under-gardeners is indicated on the plan (Figure 3.8; next to '29') and listed in the text (those of the proprietors and house servants are indicated on the house plan, not shown). The privies on the page are indicative of John Loudon's concern with the spread of disease; sanitary drainage and avoidance of smell are important elements of his architectural discourse.⁹⁷ The reader is informed about methods of wafting unpleasant smells away from the spectator, whether from the privy, the boiling of meat for dogs or from the heating of pitch (Figure 3.8; '27'). John Loudon presents the privy in relation to 'you', the reader. This reflects the professional status of some of the readers of the *Magazine*, who, as gardeners and servants might be the 'other' in relation to a middle-class audience. Sanitary drainage and health were issues articulated in treatises by

⁹⁶ See Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 127–60.

⁹⁷ 'He was publishing designs for water closets a full generation before they were standard even in urban houses', Eric Mercer, in 'Introduction', *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, 2 vols, (ed.) Mrs Loudon (London: Longman, 1846; repr. Shaftsbury, Dorset: Donhead Publishing, 2000).

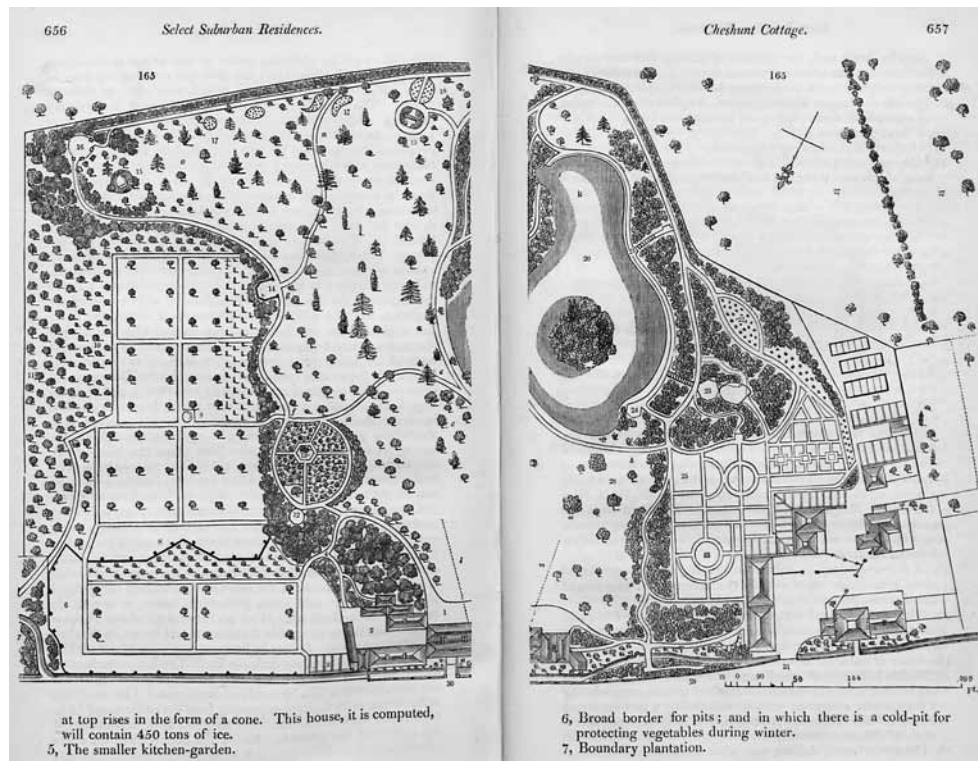


Fig. 3.7 Estate Plan of Cheshunt Cottage, *Gardener's Magazine*, 15 (Dec 1839), 656–57 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 2200

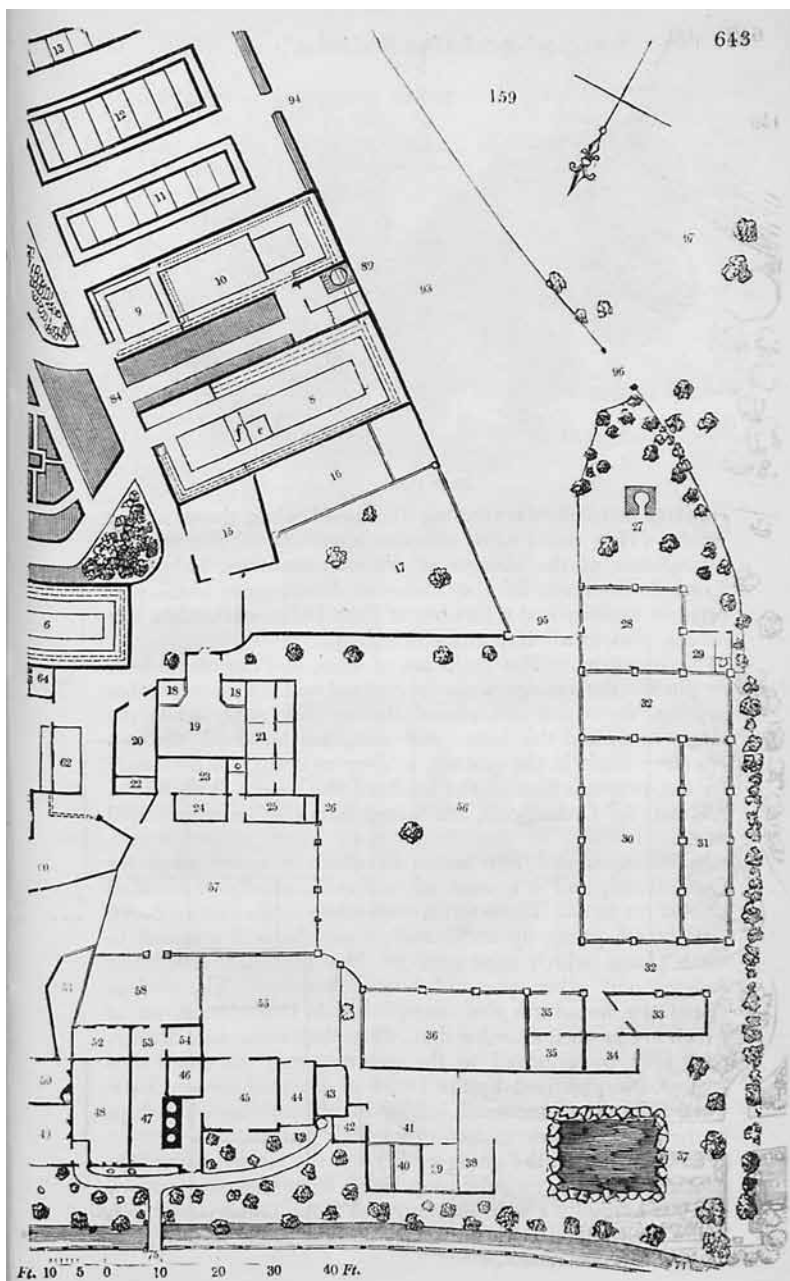


Fig. 3.8 Plan of working areas of Cheshunt Cottage (detail), *Gardener's Magazine*, 15 (Dec 1839), 643 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 2200

interested individuals, government papers and some newspapers. In response to fears generated by the epidemic of cholera in Europe of 1831, correspondents to *The Times* had argued for a 'proper and complete drainage' for London.⁹⁸ In the *Monthly Magazine* four years later, a town in which 'no alternative is left to the inhabitants, therefore, but fouling the streets with all kinds of excrementitious matter' is described in relation to the 'manufacturing population', the 'other', who are not, however, the readers themselves.⁹⁹

The vignette 'View from the Chinese Temple' (not shown), returns to the spectator's journey. The aesthetic of exploration is sustained by the image of dappled light and water framed within Chinese-style architecture. The question arises, to what extent are the vignettes of Cheshunt naturalistic in the sense that John Loudon claimed for the wood engravings of the *Magazine* when it first started? Perhaps they recall instead the wood engraving as a 'fictive' medium, drawing on traditions of fantasy, referred to by Maidment.¹⁰⁰ These representations, like the garden landscape they portray, take the reader on a fantasy of exotic travel beyond a suburban garden and draw attention away from the labour of servants.

However, the text immediately below the vignette refers to the maintenance of rabbits and the prevention 'of boys or idle persons getting into the rabbit-house'.¹⁰¹ This is part of a list that links to the working plan (Figure 3.8), and reminds the reader of the coexistence of servants, their work and their families on the estate; number 51 is a 'Court for enclosing the coachman's children'; 52, the 'Lobby to the dairy'; 53, the 'Lobby to Mr Pratt's brewhouse'; 54, 'Cellar'; 55, 'Chicken-yard'; 56, 'Farmer's yard' and 58, 'Place for slaughtering in'. Number 60, 'Shed for compost', leads to an account of the production of manure. The effect on the reader of the cacophony of text and image on the same page help to make her/him conscious of the dynamics of house and farm. The viewer/reader is made aware of the ceaseless activity of the servants who maintain the suburban residence, and the cycles of fermentation, rotting and feeding that maintain the luxuriant vegetation portrayed in the vignettes. Beyond the bushes framing the vignette, then, lies not a Chinese mountain, but a noisy, smelly, working farm.

At the centre of the working plan of the estate (Figure 3.8) lie the farm buildings, numbers '18'–'26' and it is here that the livestock are kept. Number '26' indicates the tank containing food for the pigs and this gives rise to an explanation on the advantages of fermenting food that John Loudon has adapted from the *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*:

According to the doctrine there laid down, the globules of meal, or farinaceous matter of the roots and seeds of plants, lie closely compacted together, within membranes so exquisitely thin and transparent, that their texture is scarcely to

⁹⁸ *The Times*, Tu., 25 Oct 1831, p. 3.

⁹⁹ 'Cottage Architecture and Cottages', *Monthly Magazine*, 19 (Jan 1835), 51.

¹⁰⁰ See Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints*, p. 146.

¹⁰¹ *GM*, 15 (Dec 1839), 633–74 (651).

be discerned with the most powerful microscope. Each farinaceous particle is, therefore, considered as enveloped in a vesicle, which it is necessary to burst, in order to allow the soluble or nutritious parts to escape. This bursting is effected by boiling, or other modes of cookery [...]: but it is also effected by the heat and decomposition produced by fermentation [...]. Plants are nourished by the ultimate particles of manure, in the same way that animals are nourished by the ultimate particles of food; and hence fermentation is as essential to the dunghill as cookery is to food. The young gardener, as well as the young farmer, may learn from this the vast importance of fermentation, in preparing food both for plants and animals'.¹⁰²

From the singular detail and delicacy of the membranes of meal and plant seeds which are only just visible to the 'most powerful microscope', the energy of the process of fermentation is described as the particles 'escape' and 'burst'. The comparison of the process with that of cookery to food highlights the connection of human beings to the feeding of plants and animals. The effect of the 'vast importance' of microscopic detail on the reader might be to marginalise divine purpose. I quote this passage at length in order to show that the aesthetic narrative of the tour of the opening pages has been displaced by an account of science and that the identity of the reader as 'spectator' or 'stranger' has also shifted to that of producer – the 'young farmer' or 'young gardener', whose chief interest lies in 'ultimate particles'.¹⁰³

The caption to Figure 3.9, a full-page vignette of 'General View of the Hot-houses, as seen across the American Garden', reflects, perhaps, the integration of the labour of servants with the aesthetic of exploration. The 'American' of the caption refers to the origin of the plants. The weathervane at the top of the right-hand hothouse echoes a church spire suggesting both a secular place of worship and a manufactory made of glass. The buildings, however, are surrounded by vegetation, through which the spectator or explorer may wander at peace.

The text opposite the vignette animates the view because it draws attention to those who work in and around the hothouse. John Loudon has transcribed a series of rules applying to 'all Persons working on these Premises, Masters and Men'.¹⁰⁴ The fines grow from 3d. for minor offences such as not cleaning the tools or failing to return them to their correct place, to 6d. for 'bad language', and one shilling for drunken behaviour, which, in relation to a journeyman gardener's pay of less than '10s. or 12s. a week',¹⁰⁵ and even less for the semi-skilled gardener, constituted severe punishment. The focus on bad language and drunken behaviour indicates its prevalence amongst the people who worked on the estate, while the size of the fine imposed suggests the danger that their disorderliness posed to the employer. The text then, belies the tranquillity of the view. It is also open to alternative readings.

¹⁰² *GM*, 15 (Dec 1839), 633–74 (648).

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 639, 641, 648.

¹⁰⁴ *GM*, 15 (Dec 1839), 633–74 (647).

¹⁰⁵ 'Preface', *GM*, 8 (1832), iii–iv (iv).

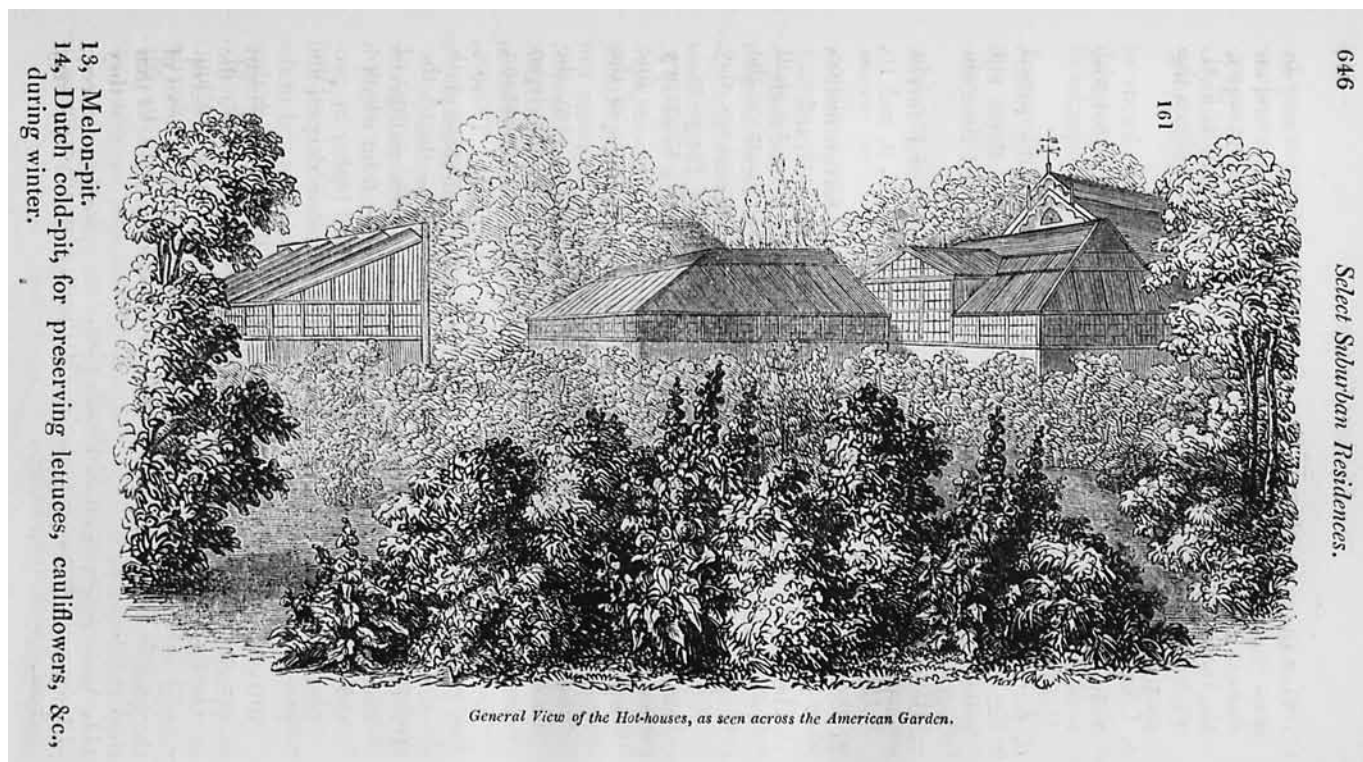


Fig. 3.9 View of the hothouses, *Gardener's Magazine*, 15 (Dec 1839), 646 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 2200

Mr Harrison's comments that the system of fines has been effective in 'preventing all slovenly practises, which he considers as thus purchased at a very cheap rate', might suggest a way for the reader as spectator to deal with servants.¹⁰⁶ For the reader as 'young gardener' the masterly status of Mr Pratt as head gardener, who collects the fines, and who is responsible for both men and tools, might be worth aspiring to.

Towards the end of the account, John Loudon summarises 'the principal sources of professional instruction which the young gardener may derive from examining this place'.¹⁰⁷ Figure 3.10 displays a mix of diagram and vignette on a double spread. A diagram representing the back elevation of the 'Rustic Covered seat' might inform the 'young gardener' or 'young designer'.¹⁰⁸ Its proximity, however, to the vignette competes with the illusion of leisure and the garden tour that the empty seat suggests.

The diagrams on the right-hand page represent the walls and roof of the hothouse. Based on the 'ridge and furrow' principle, John Loudon had experimented with this form of hothouse or 'botanic stove'.¹⁰⁹ The result was a 'pleating' of the glass which could bear the weight of greater amounts of snow and was therefore more stable than a smooth roof, and increased the amount of exposure to daylight and heat. The uneven surface facilitated the cultivation of tropical plants such as the *Brugmansia suaveolens* (*Datura arborea* L.), a native plant of India and South America:

There is a plant of [...] 15ft. high, with a head 13ft. in diameter. When we saw it, August 10th, 277 blossoms were expanded at once, producing an effect upon the spectator under the tree, when looking up, which no language can describe. Last year it produced successions of blossoms, in one of which 600 were fully expanded at one time. This year it has had five successions of blossoms, and another is now coming out as the plant expands in growth.¹¹⁰

The number of blossoms, the size and the frequency of blooming, of the *Brugmansia* in Cheshunt is the product of the gardener's labour and developments in the technology of glass. John Loudon's fascination with productivity, labour and science is confirmed through the heterogeneity of images featured in Figure 3.10. It suggests the displacement of aesthetics by science, and the marginalisation of the 'spectator' reader within the pages of the *Magazine*. The diagram might

¹⁰⁶ *GM*, 15 (Dec 1839), 633–74 (647).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 659.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 658, 659.

¹⁰⁹ His younger rival, Joseph Paxton, subsequently developed the 'ridge and furrow' principle to greater effect at Chatsworth and is referred to in the text (645). See Isobel Armstrong for a comparison between the work and ideas of Loudon and Paxton, *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass Culture and the Imagination, 1830–1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 169–88.

¹¹⁰ *GM*, 15 (Dec 1839), 633–74 (645).

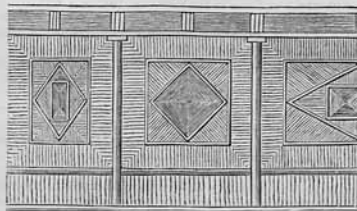


Rustic covered Seat, of Woodwork.

polygon, and either detached from, or connected with, the horticultural buildings.

The manner in which the working-sheds are heated by the waste heat from the furnaces, in consequence of which, in severe

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Elevation of the Back.

weather, much more work will be done in them, and in a better manner, and in which they are lighted, so as to serve for protecting certain kinds of plants during winter, is worthy of imitation; as is the mode of heating so many different houses from only three boilers. In no garden structures have we seen a more judicious use of the Penrhyn slate; paths, edgings, shelves, cisterns, boxes for plants, copings, kerbs, partitions, and substitutes for dwarf walls, being all made of it. The

order and neatness with which all the different tools, utensils, &c., are kept in the horticultural and farm buildings, are most exemplary, and greatly facilitate the despatch of business.

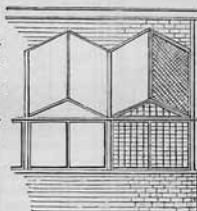
In the construction of the hot-houses, the most remarkable is one on the ridge and furrow principle of Mr. Paxton, accurately copied from the original house at Chatsworth; and, as this is the only house of the kind that we know of within the same distance of London, we shall give a plan, elevation, and view of it. This house is marked 7 and 8 in the ground plan, *fig.* 159.

in p. 642, 643.; one half of it being used as a geranium-house, and the other as a botanic stove.

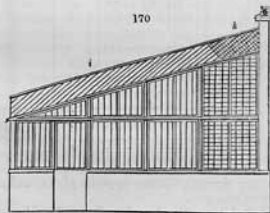
Fig. 169. is a geometrical elevation of part of the front of this house, showing, in a conspicuous manner, the ridges and furrows. Ventilation is given by opening the glazed triangular panel in front of each ridge, which is hinged on its lower side; and by the opening of shutters of similar form and dimensions in the back wall, under the upper part of the ridge.

Fig. 170. is a cross section through the middle of one of the ridges of the roof, in which are shown at *i* the oblique direction

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of the sash bars between the ridge and the furrow, and the panes of glass put in at right angles to the bars at *k*. There are openings under each ridge, in the back wall, and also in front, for ventilation.

Fig. 3.10 Rustic seat and details of glass house structure, *Gardener's Magazine*, 15 (Dec 1839), 660–61 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 2200)

also indicate the transformation of the hothouse as 'orangery' and part of an elite household where citrus fruits could be kept warm in winter, to the 'conservatory', that was becoming the property of the middle classes.¹¹¹

We have seen how the Cheshunt text is punctuated by varied forms of visual representation, and how it shifts from the discursiveness of the opening, and an account of the journey through and around the house and grounds of Cheshunt Cottage, to a series of lists attached to the plans. The process of wood engraving, then allows John Loudon great fluidity in the representation of his subject, and facilitates a multifaceted exploration of the Gardenesque in which science, production and labour are the predominant factors in comparison with aesthetics and consumption. He pays his respects to Mr Harrison, the proprietor, whom he credits as the architect and designer of the estate, and he notes that servants need to be kept in order.

One of John Loudon's intentions, however, was to professionalise the body of gardening knowledge and raise the status of practical gardeners. The labour of servants is exemplified by the responsibilities and creative power of the head gardener, Mr Pratt, whom, (wealthier) readers are reassured, is a 'singularly modest and unassuming man'.¹¹² The effect of the visibility of Mr Pratt's intelligence and competence on the reader might be to question inordinate differences of wealth, and the justice of the 1832 Reform Act which had denied the majority of working men the right to vote with the £10 a year householder qualification. In this number of December 1839, issued just a few months after the first Chartist petition had been presented to Parliament in August, John Loudon, by implication, might be offering his support to Chartism when it was seen by many of the middle classes as a serious threat to the stability of British society.¹¹³ Cheshunt Cottage was part of a series whose 'wood engraved views' may have been intended to attract those who owned or rented suburban properties. In addressing all gardeners therefore, and the 'young gardener' in particular, John Loudon risked alienating the polite spectators portrayed in the views from the drawing room window.

¹¹¹ At the time of publication in 1839, the term 'hot-house' was the generic term for a range of specialised greenhouses.

¹¹² *GM*, 15 (Dec 1839), 633–74 (674).

¹¹³ See Ch. 2 for the optimism of the *Magazine's* early years, and John Loudon's hopes that the artisans of Birmingham and their masters might be united in *GM*, 7 (Dec 1831), 513–7 (519).

Chapter 4

National Discourse: John Loudon, Activism and Landscape

In this chapter I argue that through two different kinds of publication, the *Arboretum et Fruticetum* (an encyclopaedia)¹ and *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvements of Churchyards* (the result of a commission by the Cambridge Cemetery Company),² John Loudon the activist set out to reconfigure gardens in the public sphere as landscapes of enlightenment and as a means of social cohesion. The main focus of the first part of this chapter will be his *Arboretum* and will include the *Gardener's Magazine*, set in the context of scientific and aesthetic publications and theory. I will outline the development of John Loudon's notion of the Gardenesque and will demonstrate the centrality of the printed image within the *Arboretum*. I investigate his instructions on how to draw trees and plants, by means of which he advanced knowledge of the practice, and hoped to reduce production costs for the *Arboretum*. The links between his political interventions and his designs will be made. *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvements of Churchyards*, the focus of the second part of this chapter, exemplifies the direct connections between politics and landscape planning. This was a relatively cheap publication in which images of landscape are a prominent feature. Comparisons will be made with contemporary texts on burial practices.

The *Arboretum*, a Publication for Science and Aesthetics

The main factor in the unwieldy development of the *Arboretum* was the scope of John Loudon's ambition to display and categorise every specimen of tree and shrub that could be grown in Britain but was not necessarily native to it. In contrast to the *Gardener's Magazine* (until 1839), it was published in all its multiple forms by John Loudon himself.³ Conceived initially in the *Gardener's Magazine* of

¹ *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum; or, The Trees and Shrubs of Britain, Native and Foreign*, 8 vols (London: printed for the Author, sold by Longman, 1838). Hereafter, *Arboretum*, or *AFB* in footnotes and brackets. A second edition was published in 1844 by Longman. This was republished in 1854 (London: Henry G. Bohn).

² *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvements of Churchyards* (London: printed for the Author, sold by Longman, 1843). Hereafter, *Cemeteries and Churchyards* in text; C&C footnotes and brackets.

³ To publish is to carry the printing costs, i.e., 'printed for the Author'. Longman 'sold' (distributed) the work.

October 1830 as a single volume and part of a more general work on trees, by November 1834 it had developed into a three-volume publication, as part of a more general series on landscape. In January 1836 the completion of the three volumes was expected by the following June.⁴ It did not appear in these formats. From January 1835 to July 1838, it was being published serially at 2s. 6d. per monthly issue.⁵ Well within the purchasing power of the landed gentry, 'gentlemen of landed property', it was also initially accessible in its monthly format, to middle-class readers, including 'landscape-gardeners', architects, and landscape painters, professional or amateur, as well as the managerial strata of 'practical gardeners' addressed in the bound volumes.⁶

On completion in 1838, however, it had expanded into eight quarto (13.5 x 22cm) volumes, four of letterpress with 2,500 engravings, and four of full-page and half-page plates. This edition sold for £10, more than three times the price of John Loudon's earlier encyclopaedic publications, a price that restricted the audience to landed gentry or institutions, rather than the broad range of readers addressed. The Latinate title also excluded less educated readers including women. As an alternative to the eight volumes, the *Hortus Lignosus Londinensis* was published at the same time. Priced at 3s. 6d., this was a pocket-size catalogue of plants cultivated around London extracted from the *Arboretum*, but more convenient for 'use in the garden or shrubbery' and addressed to professional gardeners and amateurs.⁷ In 1839 excerpts were also abstracted for the *Coniferae Britannicae*. The completed work was repackaged in 1842 at a similar size to the original (13.5 x 21cm), but abridged to one volume including some of the engravings, without the plates of tree specimens. Entitled *An Encyclopaedia of Trees and Shrubs*, this final version was intended for professional gardeners, land stewards or nurserymen to buy for themselves. Occasional supplements also appeared in the *Gardener's Magazine*, updating and amending the original information. With each successive abridged or extracted edition of the *Arboretum*, John Loudon attempted to meet the burden of the cost of its production over time whilst also reaching out to different niche audiences.

Extensive publicity across a wide spectrum of the press accompanied the enterprise from when it was issued as a serial in January 1835, to its completion in 1838. This included Tory and Whig quarterlies, liberal monthlies and weeklies as well as evangelical magazines and a magazine for ladies.⁸ John Loudon could not

⁴ See "'Arboretum Britannicum", or Portraits from Nature', *GM*, 10 (Nov 1834), 558–64 (558); 'Literary Notices', *GM*, 6 (Oct 1830), 582; 'A List of Places [...] from which Return Papers have been received', *GM*, 12 (Jan 1836), 28–34 (29).

⁵ Advertised as monthly, but may have been sold more frequently, as from January 1835 to July 1838, 63 numbers were sold (see, *AFB*, 1, p. vii).

⁶ *AFB*, 1, pp. 10–13.

⁷ *Hortus Lignosus Londinensis*, preface.

⁸ It was noticed by the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Monthly Magazine* at least once or twice a year from 1835 to 1838. It was favourably reviewed in other predominantly

afford to pay for official advertisements in the way that Longman had advertised the *Gardener's Magazine*, and some reviews may have been organised by Loudon's journalistic friends or acquaintances, such as Leigh Hunt of the *Literary Examiner* or William Jerdan of the *Literary Gazette*. He also generated publicity in his own publications, particularly in the *Gardener's Magazine* (see below) and in Jane Webb Loudon's first *Flower-Garden* serial on annuals. Despite the mostly favourable publicity, the *Arboretum* did not sell enough to cover its production costs.

Science and the Classification of Plants

One of the principles driving the *Arboretum* was that the reader's aesthetic appreciation of trees might be greatly enhanced by knowledge of them. 'A tree is a grand object in itself; its bold perpendicular elevation, and its commanding attitude, render it sublime; and this expression is greatly heightened by our knowledge of its age, stability and duration'.⁹ Each tree has a 'biography', which, as Isobel Armstrong has observed, is 'compounded indivisibly of cultural, anthropological, and botanical data'.¹⁰ Different knowledge categories included the history and myths of trees and shrubs and poetical allusions to them, their culinary and practical uses in the development of civilisations, their geographical origins, statistics of measurement, price, availability and botanical descriptions. The place of trees and shrubs in the imagination of readers is given equal weight to their scientific description and their practical applications in a garden or on an estate. There was much confusion surrounding the purchase and collection of trees and shrubs (because of duplication of names, the arrival of new plants improperly identified and the renaming of species by nurseries for 'novelty'), and the classification of plants was a field of controversy amongst botanists.¹¹

John Loudon wanted to replace the Linnaean system which had generally been adopted by British botanists. This system classified plants according to the numbering of sexual organs – Monandria for plants with a single stamen, Diandria for those with two and so on. This apparent simplicity made scientificised botany accessible to those who might previously have classified plants according to

nonconformist publications – the science-oriented quarterly, the *Analyst*, in 1835, and the evangelical *Eclectic Review* (1838). It was featured in *The Times* as a news item in June 1836. In general, the more expensive quarterlies favourably reviewed the completed version – *QR* (1838), *Edinburgh Review* (1839) and the progressive *WLR* (1841); as did the *Athenaeum* and the *Court and Lady's Magazine*, *Monthly Critic and Museum* (1838), amongst others.

⁹ *AFB*, 1, p. 2; Simo, p. 165.

¹⁰ Armstrong, p. 187.

¹¹ By 1799 Robert Thorton (1768–1837) had identified 52 different systems. See Londa Schiebinger, 'Gender and Natural History', *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 163–77 (p. 172).

local tradition or medical use, but the system was problematic because with some categories of plants the number of stamens was variable. The inclusion of a plant in one of Linnaeus's family could therefore be arbitrary. Moreover, the explicit sexual terminology of the Linnaean system created difficulties for women readers, and British translators removed much of the sexual content.¹²

John Loudon did not exclude the Linnaean system but he favoured the 'natural' system first established by Jussieu (1748–1836), a leading scientist of the French Enlightenment, whereby all parts of the plant were taken into account, including their appearance, properties and methods of cultivation. The botanist John Lindley (1799–1865), the first professor of botany at London University and significant contributor to John Loudon's publications, believed that the natural system was best for experts and the Linnaean, for the uneducated. Loudon argued that, on the contrary, although the natural system may be harder to learn, it was manageable and more useful to all those interested in botany, whatever their occupation. Even a child who is curious and who is in an environment in which there is varied vegetation will group plants according to their visible resemblance. He suggests that thinking scientifically is part of what makes us human: 'All sciences not purely abstract are founded on some simple instinct of our nature, which is perceptible in the customs, not only of ignorant persons in civilised society, but of the rudest savages'.¹³ Loudon's colonial discourse is hierarchical, but notably inclusive, echoing the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment on the evolution of society.

A legend showing different characteristics of growth in the introduction (Figure 4.1) helps the reader or viewer to identify the tree.¹⁴ As the tree and shrubs of Britain are mostly exogenous (growing by additions on the outside) or dicotyledonous (having two cotyledons or seed lobes), John Loudon uses this system as the basis of his chapters, whereby 'orders' define the chapters, and 'tribes' the sections within them. The oak tree, for example, is the first tribe (*Quercus*) of the order 'Corylaceae'.¹⁵ The oak 'tribe' is then subdivided into different 'genera' (plural for 'genus') according to a bundle of shared visual characteristics, combined with country of origin. The genera are delineated by leaf shape and colour in different seasons as well as their fruit and bark type. Linnaean nomenclature is referred to in brackets as it was widely known, but John Loudon's arrangement of tree categories follows the 'natural' system. In this way, he contributed towards the unsexing of botanical terms and made them more accessible to women readers and the less educated. However, because the Linnaean system was systematic and easily taught, as Anne Secord has since argued in her essay 'Artisan Botany',

¹² See *ibid.*, 'Gender and Natural History', p. 174.

¹³ *AFB*, 1, p. 212.

¹⁴ The contents pages of the annual volumes of the *Gardener's Magazine* for the last six years of publication (1838–43), also contain this kind of legend.

¹⁵ *AFB*, 3, p. 1717.

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the autumnal leaves; besides dissections of the flowers and fruit. These were all drawn on purpose for this Work, and, with a few exceptions, by J. D. C. Sowerby, Esq., F.L.S., &c. See this subject further explained in p. 223.

The specimens of foliage placed at the bottom of the plates of the full-grown trees may be called "artist's foliage," rather than "botanical specimens." They are, for the most part, drawn by the artist who took the portrait of the tree (generally no botanist, and who only knew the artistical differences in the aspect of trees), in order to get a more correct idea of what is called the "touch."

The portraits of all the trees, both young and full grown, were taken chiefly during the months of August, September, and October; but a number were also taken during the winter season, in order to show the skeleton tree without its foliage; several species being as readily known, even to a general observer, when they are naked, as when they are clothed with leaves.

All the engravings of trees and shrubs given in this Work, whether along with the text, or in the last four volumes, have been drawn from nature, on purpose for it, by competent artists, whose names, as well as the names of the places, where the trees are now growing, or grew when their portraits were taken, are given in the List of Trees in the Table of Contents, p. cliv.; and the greater number of the original drawings may still be seen in the possession of the author.

In the descriptive part of this Work, under the titles of the chapters, and sometimes under those of the sections, are given signs, intended to show at a glance the general habit of the trees or shrubs described in that chapter or section. These signs represent large, small, and middle-sized plants, and are as follows; the first sign in each row indicating a deciduous tree or shrub, the next an evergreen, and so on alternately:—

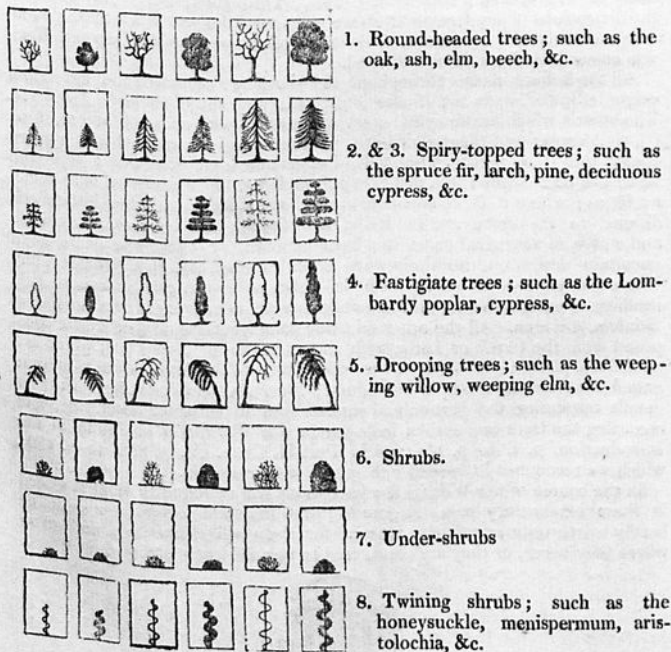


Fig. 4.1

Legend to show different kinds of tree growth, *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, 1, p. xiii © The British Library Board. Shelfmark 1600/748

its use continued to promote the development of artisan botanists long after the Jussiaen system had been more generally accepted.¹⁶

There is no mention of a divine plan in the 1838 edition in either the preface to the *Arboretum* or its introduction. Loudon's emphasis on the mutability of plants under different conditions, the necessity of experiment and the artificiality of many tree and shrub species was acceptable within the vegetable world. However, the approach of the 'natural' system that engages with our material experience of things might point towards an evolution of plants at a time when similar issues were being raised in other scientific fields of geology, astronomy, anatomy and physiology. In these areas the absence of a divine plan was much more controversial, as James Secord has argued in his analysis of the publications and spaces of reception of the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*.¹⁷ The science discourse of the *Arboretum* was, however, but one element in an approach to the taxonomy of trees which also incorporated their mythology and history. Another factor, perhaps, was the audience addressed. The *Arboretum* was presented and accepted as a practical guide to an upper-class audience – a must in the library of every country gentleman – as the reviewer of the *Athenaeum* of September 1838 concluded.¹⁸ Contrast this to the fury of 'North' in the *Blackwood's* (just over six months before the first number of the *Arboretum* appeared) in reaction to Loudon's 'Education of Gardeners'. The difference, in principle, was that in the latter entry to the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, John Loudon was explicitly endorsing the dissemination of scientific and other knowledge to less wealthy working people and the poor.

Collaboration

As we have seen in Chapter 2, the collaborative practices developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for science journals continued into the first half of the nineteenth century. Most correspondents for either the elite *Transactions of the Horticultural Society* or Harrison's 6d. *Floricultural Cabinet* did not expect payment for their work. Instead, it was recognised that publication was the best way to share information, to compare and contrast theories and results of experiments, to harness the opinion of other experts, and to gain prestige and recognition.

¹⁶ See Secord, 'Artisan Botany', *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 378–93 (p. 391).

¹⁷ First published in 1844, *Vestiges* was an anonymous publication in which 'astronomy, geology, physiology, psychology, anthropology and theology' were combined in an ambitious synthesis to form 'a general theory of creation' (Secord, p. 1). One theory concerned man's evolution from apes. *Vestiges* included theological discourse, but, Secord suggests, wealthier readers/critics expressed fears of misinterpretation if it was read by the poor.

¹⁸ 'Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum', *Athenaeum* (15 Sept 1838), 668–9.

In December 1830 John Loudon invited readers of the *Gardener's Magazine* to contribute descriptions, samples, seeds and sketches of local trees and shrubs. They would not be paid, but their contribution would be acknowledged and a copy of the work at almost half-price would be available. If the contribution was extensive they might even receive a free copy.¹⁹ Approximately 820 contributors, of whom around 10 per cent were either foreign or lived abroad, were duly listed at the beginning of the *Arboretum*, a testament to the scale of the project and international nature of the scientific community. John Loudon estimated that more than 3,000 questionnaires had been sent out.²⁰ Another reason for the inordinate length of the completed volumes was the extensive references to other publications. These are also listed at the front of the *Arboretum* and total more than 2,000 titles. The scale of the work, then, was time-consuming and needed staff to collate the material, but it was not necessary, in principle, to pay for the written contributions.

The *Arboretum* was at the same time an aesthetic project intended to improve the taste of the landed gentry and the nation as a whole. As early as 1826, in the introduction to the first annual volume of the *Gardener's Magazine* John Loudon had argued,

The importance of adding to our stock of hardy trees and shrubs, seems to be generally less felt than it ought to be [...] but trees and shrubs, which will grow in our parks and pleasure grounds, may be planted by all, and enjoyed by all: an increase of these would add a charm to the woodland scenery which would be felt alike by private owners and the public. The introduction of a new hardy tree or shrub [...] may, therefore, be considered as among the most patriotic of gardening efforts.²¹

Given the controversy over the Corn Laws in this period, the planting of trees, which can be achieved 'by all' including landowners and city dwellers (through local organisation) and 'enjoyed by all', contrasts with the greed, perceived in some areas of the press, of wealthy landowners. The latter supported the laws in order to maintain the value of agricultural land, which had the effect of raising the price of basic food-stuffs consumed 'by all'.

The Importance of Landscape

The *Arboretum* served as a platform for John Loudon to disseminate his ideas on landscape and discuss those of his predecessors. The scale and volume of information also contributed to the professionalisation of landscape design and

¹⁹ See 'Arboretum Britannicum', *GM*, 6 (Dec 1830), 718–20 (720).

²⁰ Questionnaires were sent to estates in Britain and Ireland, to North America, and also to botanic gardens all over Europe (for which they had been translated into French, German and Italian).

²¹ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (4–5).

placed its practitioners, both the landed gentry and their employees, at the centre of a national project.

John Loudon refers to the ideas of Joshua Reynolds (1723–93), who gave a series of lectures on art between 1769 and 1790 to commemorate the foundation of the Royal Academy, an institution which provided training for artists and confirmed their professional status. Reynolds argued that unlike the more abstract recreation of nature within the mind that may be stimulated by music or poetry, the visual arts appear simply to copy nature because they recreate material objects. However, ‘nature’ isn’t ever embodied in particular examples, but in the general forms which underlie them and this is what ‘art’ should aim for. He included gardening, with reservations:

So also Gardening, as far as Gardening is an Art, or entitled to that appellation, is a deviation from nature; for if the true taste consists, as many hold, in banishing every appearance of Art, or any traces of the footsteps of man, it would then be no longer a Garden. Even though we define it, “Nature to advantage dress’d”, and in some sense it is such, and much more beautiful and commodious for the recreation of man; it is however, when so dress’d, no longer a subject for the pencil of a Landskip-Painter.²²

The quotation derives from Pope’s maxim concerning the art of poets and painters, ‘True Wit is Nature to advantage dress’d’, suggesting that subtlety is the mark of effective art.²³ Reynolds extends the argument to the art of gardening, and strongly implies that gardening is only entitled to the name of art if it looks different from nature in an obvious way, which then makes it an unsuitable subject for the painter. This may be a critique of the designs of Capability Brown and raises doubts about the artistic and gentlemanly status of those who practise garden design.²⁴

Part of a reaction against the influence of Brown, whose ‘military’ style was seen as representing the centralised powers of court and commerce, was the development of the Picturesque. This was a style of landscape design partly derived from the aesthetics of landscape paintings by Claude Lorrain, Poussin and Salvator Rosa and developed by William Gilpin, Archibald Alison and Uvedale Price, amongst others. John Loudon argued that it might be combined with other principles in the design of a garden and he referred to Gilpin and Price in the *Arboretum* and the *Gardener’s Magazine*.

Gilpin was one of the first to develop the picturesque style in a series of essays from 1768 onwards. He suggested in his *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty* (1792) that the ‘variety’ of picturesque beauty offered an aesthetic alternative

²² *Discourses on Art*, p. 240.

²³ Pope, ‘Essay on Criticism’, *Poetical Works*, (ed.) Herbert Davies (London: Oxford University Press, 1996), line 297, pp. 66–85.

²⁴ The reputation of Capability Brown (bap. 1716, d. 1783) was largely based on his destruction of formal gardens in order to recreate the undulating appearance of natural landscape. His social origins were relatively humble.

to the 'greatness' or 'grandeur' of the sublime. Alison (1757–1839) provided an explanation of the Picturesque in his *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790) based on an empiricist account of aesthetics which looked back to Hume and the associationist psychological model of Hartley. He argued that art is part of civilisation and that the viewer will be elevated through contemplation. Price (1747–1829), author of an *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794), suggested that the spectator would view the landscape through the lens of his/her knowledge of landscape paintings. He planned his own garden at Foxley according to the Picturesque favouring variety of shape and texture, and blending aesthetic principle with practical husbandry as Daniels and Watkins have demonstrated.²⁵

All three publications were initially expensive and would have been read by a wealthy elite, but with the subsequent reprints of Gilpin's books and their reduction in price throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, his theory of picturesque landscape came to be seen as the sensibility of the middling ranks. As such it became the subject of satire, seen in the novels of Jane Austen, particularly in *Mansfield Park* (1814) and *Northanger Abbey* (1817).

The name of Humphry Repton (1752–1818) was also singled out by Austen as synonymous with the fashion-conscious commission of estate design in *Mansfield Park*.²⁶ Seen by Price and other supporters of the Picturesque as a follower of Brown, Repton was attacked in public arguments during the 1790s. Repton was a professional landscape gardener, an outsider, as opposed to Price, the landed gentleman and steward of local knowledge and society. Repton claimed to design gardens for the 'comfort and convenience' of their human inhabitants in his *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* of 1795.²⁷ He also sought the rules for a 'complete system' of landscape gardening, comparable to those that existed for music and architecture, but had been unable to formulate them.²⁸ However, as John Loudon had pointed out, 'the high price (£10 10s.) of Mr. Repton's writings [...], have prevented his opinions from being freely discussed by general readers and proprietors'.²⁹

Despite John Loudon's critique of Repton's work in the early decades of the nineteenth century, his decision to edit and publish *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton*, in one volume in 1840, suggests that there was profit to be made from Repton's reputation by this date,

²⁵ See Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins, 'Picturesque Landscaping and Estate Management: Uvedale Price and Nathaniel Kent at Foxley', *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*, (ed.) Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 13–41.

²⁶ See Stephen Daniels, 'Repton, Humphry (1752–1818)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2004; online edn, January 2012, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23387>>[accessed 29 November 2012].

²⁷ Repton, *Sketches and Hints*, (ed.) J. Loudon, p. 111.

²⁸ See (ibid.), pp. 25–6

²⁹ *A Treatise on Forming, Improving and Managing Country Residences*, 2 vol (London: Longman, 1806), 1, unnumbered table of contents page.

and that he had modified his opinion. Repton's hand-coloured plates and double spreads were reproduced in the 1840 edition as wood engravings of a quarter or less than the original size, and generally integrated into the text. The consequent reduction in price made Repton accessible to a broader readership. Brent Elliott, in his discussion of Victorian Gardens, has argued that John Loudon was largely responsible for the union of the ideas of Price and Repton, and observes that they had much in common in terms of retaining formal and more 'obviously artificial features' close to the house and planning, to some degree, for areas of colour in landscape.³⁰

For a more theoretical foundation of the practice of landscape gardening, John Loudon recommended an essay by A.-C. Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1849), French architect, sculptor and aesthete, the 'Imitation in the Fine Arts' (1823). By 1834 he had commissioned Jonathan Kent to translate the essay but did not publish it.³¹ Quatremère de Quincy's theory of art was rooted in the Platonic tradition of universal truths embodied in a family of forms; it recalls the ideas of Reynolds. He argues, like Reynolds, that the moral awakening which is the 'pleasure' that the highest art stimulates, is that which is furthest removed from 'sensible objects'; hence the greatest paintings are not those that render most effectively 'corporeal forms', but those which represent 'the moral by the physical, in portraying intellectual ideas, and the affections of the mind by palpable forms'.³² On these grounds he rejected the 'irregular system' of garden design from the category of art. This was in part a critique of Capability Brown and his followers. John Dixon Hunt, in his more recent discussion of the psychological effects of the eighteenth-century garden, has also suggested that the 'mental or moral patterns' which might be found in a more formal garden were absent from Brown's designs.³³

The principle of the 'recognition of Art' was John Loudon's way of retaining Quatremère De Quincy's emphasis on the art of imitation, and to integrate the practice of landscape gardening within aesthetic discourse.³⁴ The achievement of 'irregular' gardening lies not in deception, but rather in making the spectator conscious of man's intervention with nature. The 'recognition of art', he suggests, could be achieved by the plantation of species of trees that were not native to the region: 'Henceforth it must be considered as an established principle, that there can be no landscape-gardening in the natural style, where only indigenous trees and shrubs are used'.³⁵ This principle, published in the *Gardener's Magazine* of

³⁰ Elliott, p. 23.

³¹ Loudon refers to the commission in "Arboretum Britannicum, or Portraits from Nature", *GM*, 10 (Nov 1834), 558–64 (559). Quatremère de Quincy, *Imitation in the Fine Arts*, trans. Jonathan Kent (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1837).

³² Quatremère de Quincy, pp. 167–8.

³³ John Dixon Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting and Gardening in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 220–21.

³⁴ *GM*, 10 (Nov 1834), 558–64 (558). See Simo, pp. 12–3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 559.

1834, was a significant reason for the production of the *Arboretum* and formed part of the publicity for it.

Linked to the principle of the recognition of art and another factor for the planting of non-indigenous trees is that the landscape designer must (like the painter or sculptor) produce, not a copy, which might be 'mistaken for the original', but 'show the original through the medium of a particular description of art'.³⁶ This distinction is referred to by Quatremère de Quincy, and reflects an anxiety, dating from the previous century, about the industrialisation of the arts whereby the mechanical means of reproducing paintings was making them available as prints, in fabric and on furniture.³⁷ It might be that the 'market value' of property is retained by its difference from its environs. Archibald Alison's evolutionary account of the history of taste in gardening, that primitive cultures sought the straight and the regular as an ideal of beauty in their gardens in reaction to the ruggedness of the surrounding countryside, is developed by John Loudon within the framework of capitalism. He claims that the industrialisation of agriculture, in turn, has been a major factor in the development of the 'modern' (irregular or English) gardening style:

The truth is, the applause which has been bestowed on the modern style is not so much owing to any intrinsic merit that it possesses in itself, as it is to the contrast between the scenes which are produced by it, and those of the surrounding country. It has changed places with the geometrical style in England; because the entire country is now covered with straight hedges and rows of trees, and may, consequently, be considered as laid out geometrically; while natural scenery has become as rare as enclosed fields, and trees planted in rows, were in former times.³⁸

By the 1830s this process had accelerated; the way was open for a new aesthetic based on rigorous principles to guide the landscape gardener and the amateur through the plethora of gardening styles available.

The Gardenesque

The term 'Gardenesque' is first mentioned in the *Gardener's Magazine* of December 1832.³⁹ It may be derived from the French term 'Jardinique', which indicated 'a

³⁶ *AFB*, 1, p. 12.

³⁷ See Bermingham, pp. 153–4. She observes that Hogarth was one of a group of artists who raised a petition in 1735 which demanded a distinction be made so that artists could maintain control over how their work was distributed. It is the basis for modern copyright law – which at the same time confirmed the place of art in the commercial market.

³⁸ 'An Essay on the Nature, the End, and the Means of Imitation in the Fine Arts', *GM*, 13 (Dec 1837), 597–600 (598–9).

³⁹ 'Gilpin, S., Esq: *Practical Hints on Landscape-Gardening*', *GM*, 8 (Dec 1832), 700–702 (701).

work of landscape design conceived by an artist, not a “mere” gardener’.⁴⁰ John Loudon defines the Gardenesque in relation to the Picturesque, just as Gilpin and Price had defined the Picturesque in relation to Burke’s ideas about the sublime and the beautiful. The Gardenesque, though, is derived from science linked to Jussieu’s ‘natural’ botanical system, rather than aesthetics, and led to a style of planting which was plant-centred rather than an arrangement of plants ‘forced into a pre-conceived design’.⁴¹

Comparing the picturesque and the gardenesque styles of landscape, the former may be said to study most the effect of the whole, as a picture or landscape, which might be painted; and the latter the beauties of the whole, as a garden scene for walking in, and enjoying the trees and plants individually [...] the picturesque style may be said to address itself chiefly to one class of admirers, viz. the lovers of landscape scenery; and the gardenesque not only to lovers of landscape scenery, but to the botanist and the gardener. The latter, therefore, embracing as it does, more than one kind of beauty, stands higher in the scale of art than the former.⁴²

John Loudon does not mention the lack of respect that the Picturesque might command by the 1830s. He argues instead that the Gardenesque provides an effective alternative in terms of its greater democratic value; if the ability of the eye to observe, and of the mind to classify information is universal to all human beings, an aesthetic which is based on science may be more accessible than one based on polite culture.

Trees on the Page

In her discussion of the sketch in European journalism of the nineteenth century, Martina Lauster has observed that the ‘century’s pronounced cognitive orientation is inseparably bound up with the ‘visual imagination’ [...]. Seeing and knowing were thought to be in close correlation, even if they were neither conceived nor experienced as identical’.⁴³ I suggest that the plates of trees of the last four volumes of the *Arboretum* exemplify this perceived correlation as they represent the species ‘tree’ on the page. John Loudon describes the plates in the following terms:

It is, in short, the beauty of truth, not local or peculiar truth, or truth with reference to any description of art; that is, not a portrait of a tree with the peculiarities which it may happen to have at a particular time and place [...].

⁴⁰ Simo, pp. 171–2.

⁴¹ Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History* (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 2000), p. 54.

⁴² ‘Gardening as an Art’, *GM*, 11 (Dec 1835), 611–3 (612).

⁴³ Lauster, p. 1.

The object in drawing trees for the *Arboretum Britannicum* is to give a faithful portrait of the species, neglecting such circumstances as may be peculiar to the individual.⁴⁴

In his 'Ode to a Grecian Urn' of 1820, Keats had articulated 'Beauty is truth and truth beauty', but where there may have been convergence in the naturalism of both writers, Keats's 'truth' leads to reflection on the relationship between nature and humanity whilst John Loudon's is to do with science, whereby nature is an object of close scrutiny by humanity. In claiming such beauty for his plates, along with the interchange of the terms 'artist' and 'draughtsman' throughout the *Arboretum* and the *Gardener's Magazine*, John Loudon implies a direct connection between the graphic art of his magazines and books, and fine art, at a time when the distinction between both practitioners and their products were being fiercely contested; the rejection of engravers from membership of the Royal Academy more than 20 years earlier, and Ruskin's later hostility to mass production are both indicative of this conflict.

John Loudon routinely used the *Gardener's Magazine* to publicise his other publications. It carried news and adverts for the *Arboretum*. In the news department ('Miscellaneous Intelligence') of November 1834, for example, he publicized the monthly availability and price of the *Arboretum* and provided an informative article. The title of the article prioritised the plates of the *Arboretum* over the textual content:

Arboretum Britannicum; or, Portraits from Nature to a scale of a Quarter of an Inch to a Foot, of all the Trees and Shrubs which endure the Open Air in Britain, of the Size which they attain in Ten Years in the Neighbourhood of London; and Botanical Figures in Flower, and in Fruit or Seed of most species. The Letterpress will contain Scientific and Popular Descriptions of all the Species figured; Directions for their Propagation and Culture; and Observations on their Uses in the Arts, and more especially in Landscape-Gardening.⁴⁵

A metropolitan audience is suggested by the reference to London. Moreover, the 'Portraits, which all depict single trees generally not situated in landscape, suggest potential for cultivation in an urban as well as a rural environment. The emphasis on the image is maintained in the title of an article on the *Arboretum* a month later in December, which refers exclusively to the 'Portraits'.⁴⁶

Much of the letterpress published in the *Arboretum* was derived from other publications and correspondents for free, but the sketches supplied by readers as a basis for the 'Portraits' were generally not fit for publication. Partly to

⁴⁴ 'Directions for drawing Trees', *GM*, 11 (Aug 1835), 395–412 (405–6). The connection to the Gardenesque is made explicit in the version of the text in the *Arboretum*, see *AFB*, 1, p. 202.

⁴⁵ *GM*, 10 (Nov 1834), 558–64 (558).

⁴⁶ 'Arboretum Britannicum', *GM*, 10 (Dec 1834), 581–2 (581).

encourage greater uniformity, but also to obviate payment to professional ‘artists’, John Loudon provided instructions for the drawing of the ‘Portraits’. They were first published in the *Gardener’s Magazine* of 1835 entitled ‘Directions for drawing Trees and Botanical Specimens from Nature, to any given Scale, and more especially to the Scales adapted to the “Arboretum Britannicum”’.⁴⁷ The instructions were included in the *Arboretum* with some alterations that suggest different audiences in accordance with the different prices and readership of the two publications.⁴⁸ The drawing manual recommended in the 1s. 6d. *Gardener’s Magazine*, for example, is John Hassell’s compact, 10s. *Camera, or Art of Drawing in Water Colours* (1823, Simpkin and Marshall). This was considerably cheaper than James D. Harding’s, large-size (26 x 37cm) and more up-to-date, *Elementary Art* (1834, Charles Tilt), recommended to the readers of the *Arboretum* (price per part, 2s 6d.).⁴⁹

The practical advice in both publications is very similar, indicating how to prepare paper, the pencils required, and where the artist should position him or herself in relation to the tree, so that shading should be on the right. As the latter was the convention of the studio painter (light source to be on the left) so this would be the same for the drawing and engraving. If, however, the sun is obscured, ‘the artist must supply the shade, from his knowledge of the manner in which it is supplied by the sun when it shines’.⁵⁰

The drawing had to fit within a prescribed area so that no change of scale need be made for the transfer of the image onto zinc (rather than stone, see below) for lithograph or wood for engraving. John Loudon’s suggested method is (like Harding’s) to make an initial outline of the overall shape and then to fill it in. Initially, though, he advises, ‘The artist should go up close to the tree, examine its leaves, and make sketches of an individual leaf, and of a cluster of leaves, both to larger scale than that to which the tree is to be drawn, and then to the same scale’.⁵¹ The importance of studying nature was emphasised by other contemporary drawing masters, in opposition to the methods of the painting establishment exemplified by Reynolds.⁵² Most painters, John Loudon claims, have either been studio bound or uninterested in botany: ‘This defect, on the part of landscape-painters, arises partly from their copying from one another in towns, rather than from nature in the country; but, principally, from their want of what may be technically called botanical knowledge’.⁵³ His critique anticipates that of John Ruskin, who, in *Modern Painters* more than a decade later, argues that Claude Lorrain, Poussin

⁴⁷ *GM*, 11 (Aug 1835), 395–412 (395).

⁴⁸ *AFB*, 1, pp. 202–11.

⁴⁹ John Duffield Harding was one of Ruskin’s drawing masters and Ruskin recommends him, with reservations, in *Modern Painters*.

⁵⁰ *GM*, 11 (Aug 1835), 395–412 (400); *AFB*, 1, p. 206.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² See Bermingham, p. 116.

⁵³ *AFB*, 1, p. 13.

and Salvator Rosa (the models for the Picturesque) demonstrate ‘total ignorance of tree structure [...] throughout their works’.⁵⁴ John Loudon encouraged readers and draughtsmen and women towards the ‘patient forest study’ later promoted by Ruskin.⁵⁵

John Loudon’s directions for the drawing of trees were just one set published out of a flourishing market of contemporary drawing manuals, partly the result of the dearth of institutions in which these skills might be learnt.⁵⁶ The Royal Academy Schools had fallen into disrepute by this time, to the extent that in the 1830s they had attracted the attention of Parliament. Moreover, until 1837 the government had funded only the army, at Woolwich and at Sandhurst, to teach art in relation to topographical drawing and mapping for military purposes. In the *Gardener’s Magazine* John Loudon concludes,

Now, though we freely admit that it is impossible to excel, either as an artist or an author, without a favourable organisation for these pursuits, which organisation is undoubtedly a gift of nature; yet we maintain that every human being with an average organisation [...] may be taught by others, or may teach himself, both to draw and write *well*. If evidence of this is sought for, it will be found in the pages of this Magazine, in which more than half the papers are by self-taught writers and half the engravings are from the sketches of self-taught draughtsmen. The grand point is to begin on time.⁵⁷

This article, then, is a serious attempt to teach readers how to draw, and to demystify a professional process. Moreover, it embodies one of the lessons of *Mansfield Park* observed by Ann Bermingham, that drawing is a skill that can be taught (and learnt), rather than a gift of aristocratic birth.⁵⁸ The paragraph quoted above does not appear in the *Arboretum*, reflecting the greater pedagogic zeal driving the *Magazine*, which addresses ‘the young gardener’ who laboured on the estates, and the male or female ‘persons residing in the country who have leisure’.⁵⁹ Throughout the *Magazine*’s history, John Loudon is consistent in his promotion of the skill of drawing as both a professional skill and a humanising activity. The appearance of the article on drawing in both the *Gardener’s Magazine* and the *Arboretum* was part of a wider project to make the skill available to a greater number of people.

⁵⁴ Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, 1, *Works*, 3, p. 581. Ruskin started on *Modern Painters* in 1842, but did not complete it until 1860.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 585.

⁵⁶ Authors of drawing manuals included ‘Edward Kennion, Joshua Bryant, John Laporte, Louis Francia, W. Eldridge, and J. D. Harding’ (Bermingham, pp. 114–5).

⁵⁷ *GM*, 11 (Aug 1835), 395–41 (412).

⁵⁸ See Bermingham, p. ix.

⁵⁹ *GM*, 11 (Aug 1835), 395–412 (410).

The Illustration Process

Despite John Loudon's claim that the skill of drawing (and writing) could be taught to amateurs, for the *Arboretum* he was generally obliged to employ trained artists. Consistent with his claims that the 'Beauty of Truth' is derived from seeing a tree in the physical landscape, he sent his artists to nurseries and estates, mainly located around London. Webb Loudon reports,

Having resolved that all the drawings of trees for the *Arboretum* should be made from nature, he had seven artists constantly employed, and he was frequently in the open air with them from his breakfast at seven in the morning till he came home to dinner at eight in the evening, having remained the whole of that time without taking the slightest refreshment, and generally without even sitting down.⁶⁰

Whilst the activity of drawing *en plein air* echoes the fashionable pastime for sketching by amateurs or tourists promoted by Gilpin in the late eighteenth century, the dedication and work involved here allies the activity to that of professional fine artists. Apart from John Loudon's extreme dedication to hard work that Webb Loudon refers to, the sense that the draughtsmen studied the tree in front of them, suggests an aesthetic of labour. This process underlies the plates of the *Arboretum* and contrasts with the imagining of the idealised tree of the Claudian landscape invoked by Gilpin. It anticipates to some extent the approach of Ruskin and, perhaps, the close scrutiny of vegetation by the Pre-Raphaelites.⁶¹

The cost implications of John Loudon's methods were problematic as, in contrast to the letterpress contributions, he had, in principle, to pay for the drawings of trees. Printing of text and engraving of images had begun in August 1834, four years after he had started collecting material. The tree portraits, Loudon states, were drawn between 1834 and 1837 from August to October – during which time he would have had to pay the seven artists referred to. He found ways, however, to reduce these costs. One of the most prolific artists was Mary Loudon – 'Miss M. L.' – John Loudon's sister, who created over 25 per cent (117 out of 412) of the tree portraits. She was responsible for the engraving of the oak (Fig. 4.2) which was featured in the *Arboretum* and the *Gardener's Magazine*. Part of the reason for Mary Loudon's proportionally large contribution was that she was cheap; as a member of the family she was not entitled to the 'large sums in ready money' that had been paid to 'the artists and other persons'.⁶² Jane Loudon ('Miss J. L.'), Mary (and John) Loudon's sister, also completed a

⁶⁰ Webb Loudon, 'Life of John Loudon', p. xxxix.

⁶¹ Howard Leathlean suggests that Loudon's connections to the Pre-Raphaelites include their 'social and moral sympathies' as well as scrutiny of individual plants; see 'Morality of Landscape', pp. 94–5.

⁶² Webb Loudon, 'Life of John Loudon', p. xxxix.



Fig. 4.2

The stalk-fruited British oak from the London Horticultural Society garden by Mary Loudon, *Arboretum et Fruticetum*, 7, pl. 281. Also published in the *Gardener's Magazine*, 11 (Aug 1835), 395–412 (407) © The British Library Board. Shelfmarks 1600/748 and P.P. 2200

number of portraits (Figure 4.4). Their female gender is not mentioned by Webb Loudon in her account of the artists.

The cultural contribution of women is endorsed by John Loudon's comment that 'ladies who reside in the country and have studied botany, if they have a taste for landscape, will imitate the touch of trees better than professional landscape-painters'.⁶³ It might also justify the predominance of Mary Loudon's work amongst the better-known named draughtsmen involved in the plates – many of whom were part of the Loudons' social network. These included J. (John) Martin (1789–1854) and his son L. (Leopold) Martin (1817–89). Although John Martin had achieved early commercial success through sales of his dramatic prints, he was not taken seriously by the establishment, represented by the Royal Academy. He lost money over an ambitious project to illustrate biblical scenes. At the time of drawings trees for Loudon, he was also illustrating another scientific publication, Gideon Mantell's *The Wonders of Geology* (1839).⁶⁴ W. A. (William Andrews) Nesfield (1794–1881) was an established painter and landscape gardener by this date. His garden at Fortis Green was featured in the *Gardener's Magazine* of February 1840. The publicity might have contributed to a somewhat late payment for his work. Alternatively, the illustrations of other established artists such as G. R. (George Robert) Lewis (1782–1871) were paid for by owners of estates featuring particular trees – the Duke of Northumberland in his case. John Loudon had less control over the content of these portraits when he was not paying for them, which may be why some by Lewis include human figures and landscape.

The most prolific artist was H. (Henry) Le Jeune (1819–1904), who illustrated more than a third of the plates. He had been admitted to the Royal Academy Schools in 1834, the year that drawing of the portraits began. He would go on to win four successive silver medals.⁶⁵ Loudon employed him while he was a student and was, perhaps, able to pay him at a lower rate than the professionals. He tried to keep costs down by employing friends and family, but he also nurtured talent.

The challenge of keeping costs down for the reproduction of the plates, however, proved to be insurmountable. John Loudon claims to prefer the illustrations of entire trees whether of 'wood, zinc, copper or steel' defined by 'light and shade' alone.⁶⁶ They represent a category of image that is unique to the printed page as each portrait is a finished work which, unlike a pencil sketch, was not intended as either a preparation for something else, nor for colouring. The botanical diagrams, though, at the bottom of the portraits, might be 'advantageously coloured'.⁶⁷

⁶³ AFB, 1, p. 13.

⁶⁴ Gideon Mantell (London, 1839).

⁶⁵ See Morna O'Neill, 'Le Jeune Henry (1819–1904)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article34490>>[accessed 29 November 2012].

⁶⁶ GM, 11 (Aug 1835), 395–410 (410).

⁶⁷ Ibid. Coloured and semi-coloured versions of the *Arboretum* were sold by James Ridgway and Sons.

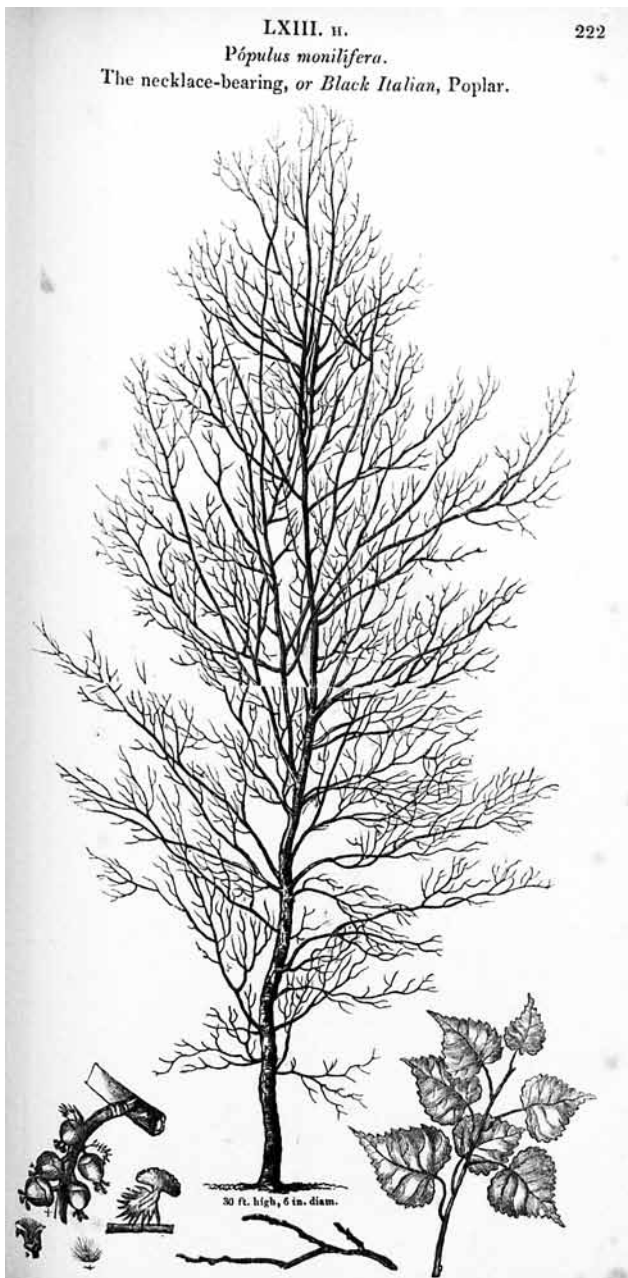


Fig. 4.3

The necklace-bearing or black Italian poplar in winter by Henry Le Jeune, *Arboretum Britannicum*, 7, pl. 222 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark 1600/748

He argues, then, for a distinctive and autonomous genre of art, purely for the magazine or book.

He was also justifying the mix of reproduction techniques displayed in the plates of the *Arboretum*. There are no steel or copperplate images; the majority are wood engravings but almost a quarter are lithographs, indicated by the signature at the bottom of the plate 'Printed from Zinc by Day and Haghe'. Louis Haghe (1806–1885), draughtsman and lithographer, and William Day (1797–1849), publisher and printer, had worked jointly on publications since 1825, but their company was not formed until 1833, just one year before printing started on the *Arboretum*. It was during this period that they pioneered the process of lithography on zinc instead of stone.⁶⁸ This new practice led to a marked reduction in price and may well have been a factor in Loudon's decision, initially at least, to favour lithographic plates over wood engraving.

Once again, John Loudon displays the innovative thinking that characterises so much of his work. More expensive horticultural periodicals had taken up lithography, notably Curtis's *Botanical Magazine* (from 1834) and the *Floral Cabinet* (1837–40). A lithograph 'specimen plate' sewn into the December number of the *Gardener's Magazine* of 1834 was part of an advertising campaign waged in the *Magazine* in order to persuade wealthier readers to buy it, as, in general, lithography had more cachet as an illustrative medium than the woodcut.⁶⁹ It was recommended in the short-lived *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* (1834–35) within its 'Fine Arts' department, while the *Literary Gazette* praised the 16 'distinctive lithographic plates' included with 16 pages of letterpress of the first number.⁷⁰

The evidence suggests then that, initially, Loudon intended to produce all the tree portraits lithographically. Well over half of the first volume of plates is litho prints. In the second volume, however, the number drops down to less than 10 per cent, while in the third it rises to almost 20 per cent, followed by just one in the final volume.⁷¹

The three plates illustrating the black Italian poplar might indicate why he preferred it. Figure 4.3 by Henry Le Jeune, is a wood engraving of a young tree in winter; form is the predominant element.⁷² Figure 4.4 by Jane Loudon, is a lithograph. The tree is in leaf; the quality of 'touch' derived from the spray of leaves characteristic of the pencil sketch is reproduced. The lettering 'J' is freely integrated within botanical elements at the bottom left of the portrait. Figure 4.5 by

⁶⁸ Thanks to Michael Twyman for this information.

⁶⁹ Contents, *GM*, 10 (1834), viii.

⁷⁰ *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* (31 Dec 1834), 316; *Literary Gazette* (10 Jan 1835) 18, in 'Reviews'.

⁷¹ *AFB* vols of plates: number of lithographic plates out of the total: 5 (60/102), 6 (8/109), and 7 (215/309).

⁷² Plates 222 and 222 (*AFB*, 7) are in reverse order to that stated in the list of contents (*AFB*, 1, p. clix). The winter tree by Henry Le Jeune precedes the leafy tree by Jane Loudon in the bound volume.

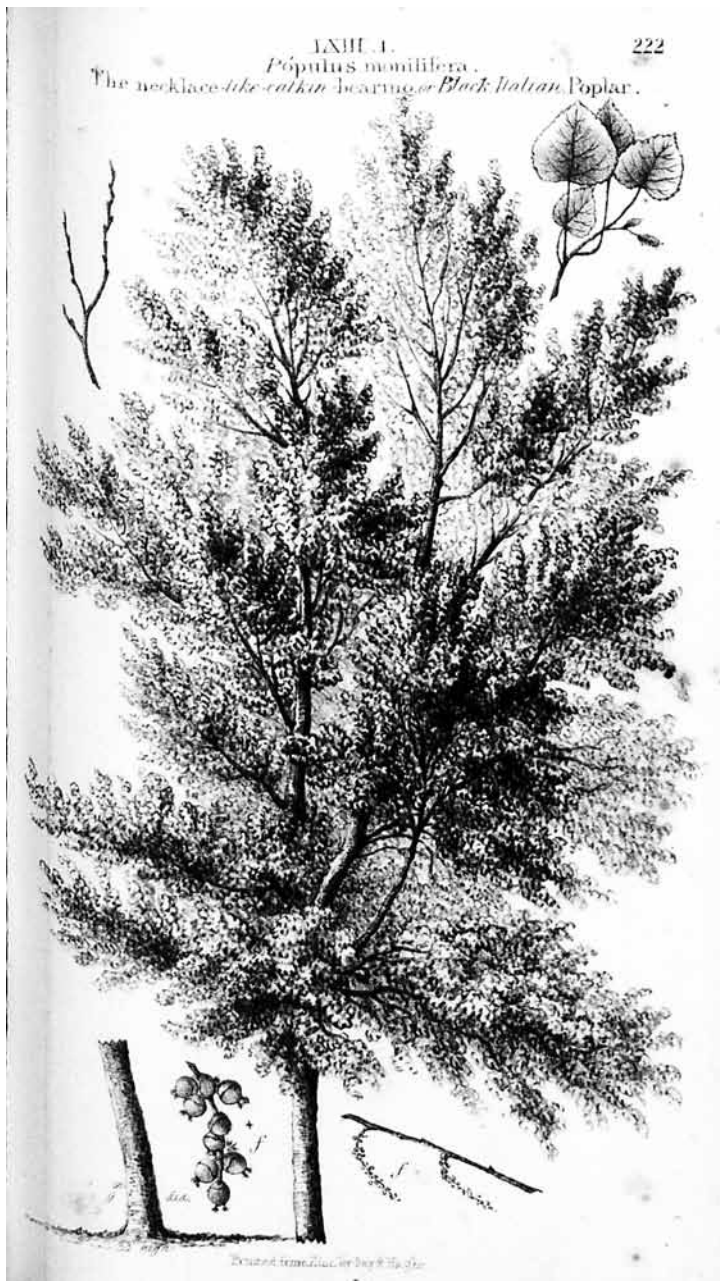


Fig. 4.4 The necklace-bearing or black Italian poplar by Jane Loudon, *Arboretum Britannicum*, 7, pl. 222 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark 1600/748



Fig. 4.5 Full-grown tree: necklace-bearing or black Italian poplar by G. R. Lewis, *Arboretum Britannicum*, 7, pl. 222a © The British Library Board. Shelfmark 1600/748

G. R. Lewis is a wood engraving. The poplar is mature and the plate opens to form an impressive double spread. The black linear marks, however, used to render the ‘touch’ of a spray of leaves might seem crude in comparison with the feathery greys of Figure 4.4.

For the rendering of mature trees, it is more obvious that a mark or ‘touch’ representing a mass of leaves is a convention. Lauster’s observation that seeing and knowing were felt to be ‘in close correlation’ was perhaps put to the test in the portraits as the gap is exposed between representation (image as a set of marks) and what the eyes see in physical landscape. John Loudon was not satisfied with some of the finished results. He complained that his draughtsman and engravers had a tendency to show the distinct shape of each leaf in some of the portraits. Given the simplicity which John Loudon dictated for the ‘portraits’, of a black image against a plain white background, it might be that the representation of leaves as a convention is less evident in relation to the feathery finish made possible

by lithography, than with the linear marks of wood engraving. Loudon's ideal to show 'what a person who knew nothing of its nature might acquire by looking at it from a distance' was, perhaps, incompatible with the large quantity of images required.⁷³ From the three-volume publication anticipated in November 1834, the *Arboretum* expanded to eight volumes on completion.

It is not possible to determine the exact or relative cost of the lithographs in relation to the wood engravings for the *Arboretum Britannicum* because there are so many variables. It might be that a number of named artists including Jane and Mary Loudon who were trained to engrave on wood were able to do the engravings themselves and keep costs down. The process of transferring the image onto zinc was simpler (and cheaper) than for transferring an image onto a wood engraving, but zinc was less durable than wood, and given the multiple forms of the *Arboretum* as a serial and as a book, the number of impressions must have been considerable. It appears that John Loudon had no choice but to turn to wood engraving, either because he could not afford to have the zinc plates remade, or because Day and Haghe were not equipped to remake so many plates in so little time.⁷⁴ The evidence might suggest that by 1838 the lithographic process (in London) was not yet set up for mass production in the way that wood engraving was.⁷⁵

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the engraver interpreted and recreated the lines of the draughtsman on paper, in reverse on wood for an engraving or *in pro* on zinc for litho. John Loudon's complaints about his draughtsmen and engravers indicates the extent to which the skills of both were necessary to produce a successful printed image. One of the reasons, perhaps, for the success of the company of Day and Haghe was that Louis Haghe was a trained draughtsman.

John Loudon's preference for monochrome might suggest that he was anticipating photography, as a reader recommended.⁷⁶ The photograph, however, would represent a particular tree at a particular time, and might not have satisfied Loudon's desire for the general species type. The modernism of the Gardenesque in the sense of its connection to science and cities is suggested by the representations of trees independent of landscape, when young and in winter, and by the variety of species.

In addition to the plates of the last four volumes, the *Arboretum* features quantity and variation of forms in the letterpress of the first four volumes with

⁷³ *AFB*, 1, p. 207.

⁷⁴ Thanks to Terry Belanger, Brian Maidment and Michael Twyman for information on this matter.

⁷⁵ Day and Haghe produced the zinc lithographs for J.W.L.'s first of the *Flower-Garden* series on annuals issued from Jan 1839 to March 1840 in monthly parts. There were just three plates per number, in contrast to the *AFB* which averaged seven, and which was originally advertised as containing 16. *AFB* was first issued in numbers from Jan 1835, four years earlier.

⁷⁶ *GM*, 15 (Aug 1839), 473. See previous chapter.

tabular information and the use of symbols, and the inclusion of 2,500 engravings. The engravings were by James de Carle Sowerby, and especially commissioned. They generally illustrated trees and shrubs in a variety of landscapes and stages of growth, in contrast to the stark, species-type of the full page 'portraits'. The cost of the variations in letterpress, the small engravings and the full-page portraits was to push the final price of the *Arboretum* up to £10, more than double the price of Loudon's other encyclopaedias. He published the *Arboretum* himself, with Longman as distributor, and printing by Spottiswoode. He was left with an initial debt of £10,000, which by 1841 had been reduced to £2,600. The threat of arrest by the assignees of an engraver who had been declared bankrupt for the remaining £1,500 owed, might suggest that the plates of the *Arboretum*, acknowledged by critics then and since as major achievements, were a significant factor towards the financial failure of the project.

Commodification of Nature

Like the *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (1833), the *Arboretum* was a useful sourcebook as it would 'enable artists to investigate from our figures, and afterwards from nature'.⁷⁷ The commercial truth of trees is made transparent within its pages because they stand alone, to the same scale for either young or mature trees and surrounded by their botanical details: 'By merely glancing over these portraits, a planter will see at once, first, the effect which any given tree, purchasable in British nurseries, will produce in ten years' growth; and, secondly, what its appearance will be when it has arrived at its average size'.⁷⁸ In this sense the *Arboretum* marks the development of the commodification of nature, whereby the viewer could choose to buy and own in their own gardens what is represented on the plates. This process supports Denis Cosgrove's 1984 critique of John Loudon's Gardenesque, the "authentically bourgeois style" which it represents, and the development of gardening whereby 'natural processes depend utterly on human control'.⁷⁹ The idea of a monolithic, authentic 'bourgeois' style or culture has been modified since Cosgrove's critique, with the suggestion of the development of a plurality of cultures coexisting and feeding into one another. I would argue then, that John Loudon's Gardenesque liberated 'nature' from the possession of elite landowners for the benefit of a broader section of the population in private gardens and public spaces.

In contrast to the larger estates needed for the situating of woods or clumps of trees, the cultivation of individual plant species (an important feature of the Gardenesque), embodied in the plates of the *Arboretum* is well adapted to the more restricted spaces of suburban gardens or city squares. Middle-class women

⁷⁷ AFB, 1, p. 14.

⁷⁸ AFB, 1, p. 7.

⁷⁹ Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1984), p. 235.

were empowered by the development of the Gardenesque, as Schenker has argued; the emphasis on horticulture benefited women as it transformed 'middle-class gardens into horticultural laboratories and classrooms' and gave women access to that body of knowledge, as botany 'became increasingly male-dominated'.⁸⁰ Equally, the collection of botanical specimens by artisans, documented by Anne Secord, is in accordance with the Gardenesque both in terms of its separation from the land and in the sense that the specimen is valued as a representation of species as opposed to a symbol, or personal keepsake.⁸¹ This is exemplified in the novels of Elizabeth Gaskell in which growing things is this novelist's sign of humanity. In *North and South* (1855), Margaret's garden at Helstone contrasts with the chill frigidity of Mrs Thornton's drawing room, while agricultural labour is identified with the oppressive traditionalism of the country. Likewise, the collection of plant specimens by the factory worker, Job Legh, in *Mary Barton* (1848), who, as one of the body of artisan scholars knew 'the name and habitat of every plant within a day's walk from their dwellings' signifies humanity, self-improvement and modernity.⁸²

Trees in Landscape

John Loudon urges landowners with estates near London to cooperate with each other and devote a portion of their land to an arboretum of individual species so that 'the whole of the genera and species were assembled in one national garden' and should be open to 'botanists' or scholars. From such restricted access, he generalises,

The idea may be thought chimerical; but it is hard to say what will not be done by nations, when they come to cultivate with ardour the arts of peace and of refinement. The cooperation of individuals attached to the same pursuit may, in the mean time, contribute much to the advancement of that pursuit'.⁸³

Arboreta (and public parks) represent an opportunity for the people of London (and of all large cities) to engage in aesthetic choice or contemplation. The existence of such public spaces is connected to the principle of cooperation with which the modern city needs to organise itself. Arboreta are not top priority for governments, but John Loudon argues that they should be as they will contribute to a more stable society.⁸⁴ His vision is opposed to the picturesque pleasures of

⁸⁰ Schenker, 'Women, Gardens and the English Middle Class', p. 347.

⁸¹ See Secord, 'Artisan Botany', pp. 378–93.

⁸² Gaskell, *Mary Barton, A Tale of Manchester Life*, (ed.) Stephen Gill (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970) p. 75.

⁸³ *AFB*, 1, p. 192.

⁸⁴ He also suggests the establishment of national gardens in New York, Charleston and Washington (*AFB*, 1, pp. 191–2).

a rural past, as well as a romantic appreciation of trees, or nature, which leads to individual introspection. It suggests that in such shared 'natural' spaces the 'instinct' of science will enable people experience curiosity and wonder.

Through his design practice John Loudon was active in initiating urban spaces which might be enjoyed by the less wealthy and the poor, both to serve the nation and represent it at a local and national level. Most of his schemes were published in the *Gardener's Magazine* as well as in pamphlet form. In his 'Hints for Breathing Places' of 1829, he advocated that provision of public open spaces be made in all enclosure bills.⁸⁵ He included the common land of Hampstead Heath in a 'country' circle surrounding the 'town' centre, in a system of alternating urban and green spaces that allowed for the expansion of London all the way to the east coast. At the same time he joined protests over a bill to enclose the Heath, which was seen as depriving the poor of North and East London access to open spaces.⁸⁶ He had agitated for state ownership of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew as they became neglected during the 1820s, and in 1840 this was achieved. His design for Birmingham Botanical Gardens was published in the *Gardener's Magazine* of August 1832.⁸⁷ The gardens were semi-public as they were open only to members of the local horticultural society. His design for the Terrace Gardens at Gravesend of 1836, published in the *Gardener's Magazine* in January that year was the first garden for the public paid for out of public money.⁸⁸

The rapid increase in demands for housing in manufacturing towns and cities in the period saw the disappearance of green spaces. Derby, as Simo has observed, was typical, as from 1801 it had 'more than tripled its population – to a total of 35,000 in 1844'.⁸⁹ John Loudon's scheme for the Derby Arboretum, published in the *Gardener's Magazine* of October 1840, and as a separate pamphlet, was designed to make up for this loss.⁹⁰ Extracts from it were included in government reports such as Edwin Chadwick's 'Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the

⁸⁵ 'Hints for Breathing Places for the Metropolis, and for Country Towns and Villages, on fixed Principles', *GM*, 5 (Dec 1829), 686–90 (690). See Simo, pp. 227–34; Hazel Conway, *People's Parks: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 44.

⁸⁶ The hostile campaign may have been partly orchestrated by the local gentry. See 'Hampstead: Hampstead Heath', in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Hampstead and Paddington Parishes*, (ed.) T.F.T. Baker, vol. 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 75–81 (pp. 78–9).

⁸⁷ See 'Description of a Design made for the Birmingham Horticultural Society', *GM*, 8 (Aug 1832), 407–28.

⁸⁸ See 'Design for a Public Garden, made for an English Corporate Town' (*GM*, 12 (Jan 1836), 13–26. Identified by Conway as Terrace Gardens at Gravesend, p. 44.

⁸⁹ Simo, p. 192.

⁹⁰ 'The Derby Arboretum', *GM*, 16 (Oct 1840), 521–45; Pamphlet, 'The Derby Arboretum' (London: Longman, 1840).

Labouring Population' (1842) and in the *Westminster Review*.⁹¹ Although the site in Derby was badly drained and close to the pollution of local factories, it exemplified the principles outlined in the *Arboretum* in which John Loudon had criticised English landowners because they are reluctant to cut down trees.⁹² Old indigenous trees associated with picturesque beauty and landscape painting, he suggests, might be exemplars of tradition and reminders of an oppressive past. In contrast, the effect of young trees upon the viewer is to be 'carried forward along with all the improvements which are now contemplated, or in progress, in civilised society throughout the world'.⁹³ The Derby Arboretum was planted from seeds and saplings supplied from nurseries and the London Horticultural Society garden, with each plant identified by 'brick tallies', including the date of introduction to Britain.⁹⁴ Every 20 to 40 years, John Loudon suggested, the entire arboretum should be cut down and replanted.⁹⁵ His aesthetic utopia and its realisation are devoid of tradition, derived from science rather than history and based upon the 'instinct' of the faculty of the eye to observe.

The land for the Derby Arboretum had been donated by philanthropist and cotton manufacturer Joseph Strutt (1765–1844), but maintenance had to be paid for. While free access was available on Wednesdays from dawn to dusk and on Sundays (outside hours of morning service), as intended by Strutt, on other days visitors were charged a fee. Annual subscribers paid 10s. 6d. per family, or 6d. for adults and 3d. for children per visit. The participation of the working classes on the second day in celebration of the opening (the first day was for the middle classes and town dignitaries, Saturday was for children) was recorded by a local paper and published in the *Westminster Review*. The spectacle of the peaceful 6,000-strong crowd who left all plants undamaged provided a powerful counterpoint for middle-class readers to reports of riotous crowds of working people who attended funeral processions (see below). The *Westminster Review* noted that if charges were levied on the local rates, the poor would have access every day.⁹⁶ Free access was made available in 1882.⁹⁷ In the twenty-first century many urban parks offer free access, but more specialised gardens such as the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, and arboreta around the country still charge a fee for visits.

⁹¹ Chadwick, 'Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population' (London: 1842), pp. 405–8. See 'Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum' (or 'Parks and Pleasure Grounds'), (*WR*, 35 (April 1841), 418–56. The latter was a favourable review which included letterpress and images from *AFB*, as well as designs for the Derby Arboretum.

⁹² See *AFB*, 1, p. 13.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁹⁴ *GM*, 16 (Oct 1840), 521–45 (521–3).

⁹⁵ See Simo for detail on the design of the Derby Arboretum, pp. 191–205.

⁹⁶ *WR*, 35 (April 1841), 418–56 (429). John Loudon had expected it to be 'at the expense of all, for the enjoyment of all' (Simo, p. 199).

⁹⁷ See Simo, p. 199; Conway, p. 47.

Before he started work on the Derby Arboretum, John Loudon had argued against the formality of the royal ‘public’ parks in London, which, in practice excluded liveried servants and people in humble clothing.⁹⁸ His concerns date back to the beginnings of the *Gardener’s Magazine*. In the third number of 1826, he published the comments of the German visitor and landscape designer Peter Joseph Lenne, who noted that apart from St James Park and Kensington Gardens there are no provisions for seating or shelter for pedestrians and that ‘it is necessary to be a man of fortune, and take exercise on horseback or in a carriage’ in order to enjoy them.⁹⁹ These parks were not designed for walking and working people, and John Loudon was active in securing benches where people could rest, exemplified in the specifications for the Derby Arboretum.¹⁰⁰ Regents Park was not opened to the public until 1841 and other kinds of gardens which were managed commercially had originated in the gardens of inns and tea houses. The most notorious was Vauxhall Gardens whose ‘walks and gardens’ were just some of the entertainments offered, apart from theatre, cosmoramas, optical illusion and supper rooms.¹⁰¹ It was also, however, the ‘scene of disgraceful licentiousness [...] a meeting of drunkards, pickpockets, and prostitutes’.¹⁰²

The ‘festive enjoyment’ and ‘rational recreation’ of parks and gardens that John Loudon designed and promoted were very different. He argued that curiosity and wonder drive the thirst for knowledge, which is as much a source of pleasure as power. He offered, then, an alternative to unprincipled aristocratic sensual pleasures. He hoped that a new potentially public landscape based on cooperation, might lead towards the establishment of a ‘national garden’ in which peoples of civilised nations would have access to arboreta. His designs benefited his own (middle) class, and made accessible to the poor, aesthetic and intellectual experiences (including musical entertainments) which were otherwise denied them. Alternatively, they might effectively mitigate against the potentially destabilising entertainments of working people.

Gardens for the Dead: Churchyards, Burial Grounds and Cemeteries

Soon afterwards, John Loudon’s activities as a radical continued with his publications and designs for cemeteries at Cambridge, Southampton, and Bath

⁹⁸ ‘Kensington Gardens’ in ‘Domestic Notices: England’, *GM*, 12 (Oct 1836), 550–51 (55); Simo, p. 223.

⁹⁹ ‘Transactions of the Prussian Gardening Society’, *GM*, 1 (July 1826), 308–12 (311); Conway, p. 14.

¹⁰⁰ See *GM*, 16 (Oct 1840), 537.

¹⁰¹ See Conway, p. 32.

¹⁰² J. A. Roebuck, ‘On the Amusements of the Aristocracy and of the People’, in ‘Pamphlets for the People’, (ed.) J. A. Roebuck, 2 vols (London: Charles Ely, 1835), 1, 3; Conway, p. 32.

from 1842 to 1843, shortly before his own death.¹⁰³ The first commission of 1842 to design a cemetery in Cambridge resulted in a broad survey and recommendations as to how cemeteries and churchyards might be funded and designed.¹⁰⁴ Addressed to the shareholders of the Cambridge Cemetery, John Loudon was able to reach out to the general reader through publication in the *Gardener's Magazine* as the work was serialised in the 'Reviews' department in 1843 from March to October.¹⁰⁵ It may have been issued as a pamphlet attached to the *Magazine* in April and, unusually, halfway through serialisation, in June, as a 12s. book entitled *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvements of Churchyards*.¹⁰⁶ This then was a very different project from the *Arboretum* in terms of its low number of pages (120), rapid completion, price and limited forms of publication.

It was however, at 14 x 22 cm, similar in page size to the *Arboretum* and the *Gardener's Magazine*. Engravings were included (as in the above publications), and production costs were high. Webb Loudon notes: 'In 1843 his time was chiefly occupied with his work on *Cemeteries*, with which he took extraordinary pains, and which was very expensive from the number of the engravings'.¹⁰⁷ Their presence may have been intended to persuade cemetery shareholders, but at the same time they enhanced the status and register of the text, distinguishing it from official pamphlets (for government or local councils) and placed it in the category of books on architecture and landscape, further broadening the readership.

Cemeteries and Churchyards

What are the differences between the 'cemeteries' and 'churchyards' of the title? The right to burial in churchyards (however basic) was long established, with the land consecrated and controlled by church authorities. The more recently established cemeteries, in contrast, were controlled either by a local authority or a private company and contained consecrated and unconsecrated ground. Any Christian denomination (however obscure), Jews, Muslims and even atheists could be buried with their Anglican counterparts if they could afford it. The term 'burial-ground', not mentioned in the title but frequent in the text, is less

¹⁰³ 'Early in March, 1842, he had an attack of inflammation of the lungs', Webb Loudon, 'Life of John Loudon', p. xliii.

¹⁰⁴ His interest in the conditions of burial grounds, churchyards and the development of cemeteries is a consistent feature of the *GM* from its beginnings, and in the *Architectural Magazine*.

¹⁰⁵ One section of *C&C* on country churchyards had already been published in the *Suburban Gardener* five years earlier.

¹⁰⁶ See 'Literary Notices', *GM*, 19 (April 1843), 184; 'Catalogue of Works', *GM*, 19 (June 1843), 309–14 (314).

¹⁰⁷ Webb Loudon, 'Life of John Loudon', p. xliii. She refers to 'engravings' as a generic term for illustrations. The plates are a mix of lithographs and wood engravings.

specific. Those burial grounds attached to the Parish shared similar conditions to churchyards, whilst some were attached to Catholic churches. Others were on unconsecrated land and, like cemeteries, were run privately or by a local authority. The latter were amongst the most oversubscribed because Dissenters who would not or could not pay for the Anglican burial rites demanded in churchyards had no alternative place for burial. The journey of the dead to the burial ground, the location of the ground itself and the disposal of the dead were, in the period, the subject of fierce disputes in which the different interests of the Anglican Church, the state, the wealthy and the poor were being contested or staked out.

The number of bodies in towns and cities had increased with the movement of labour from agriculture to manufacture, and the accumulation of corpses in highly populated areas was perceived as a threat to health. Several publications had drawn attention to the problems. The principle model for John Loudon may have been John Strang's *Necropolis Glasuegensis* of 1831, which contained engravings of designs for the cemetery and was intended for the shareholders of the company who would be paying for it.¹⁰⁸ Another work that he refers to is *Gatherings from Graveyards* of 1839, by the medical man George Alfred Walker (1807–84). His report on the state of London burial grounds and churchyards noted that, in order to make space for new arrivals, coffins were broken up and sold for firewood, bodies moved or dismembered and bones thrown into charnel houses.¹⁰⁹

Government papers were also influenced by Walker and made similar findings at a national level. The Select Committee report, the 'Improvement of the Health of Towns, Effect of Interments in Towns' (March to May 1839) was chaired by William A. Mackinnon MP.¹¹⁰ His finding were produced within the large pages of the format for government papers (23 x 23.5 cm; 258 pp.), circulated amongst a restricted audience of government officials and members of the press. Edwin Chadwick (1800–1890), a lawyer by training, produced 'A Supplementary Report on the Results of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns' published in December 1843.¹¹¹ Chadwick's report, containing a similar number of pages of small print (i.e., double the information) and distinguished by tables of statistics, was added to his earlier investigation for the Poor Law Commission started in 1839, 'An Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population'. This had been published in 1842 as a 'blue book', a much more compact format (13 x 21 cm, the same size as *C&C* and *GM*), and ensured a broader readership.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ *Necropolis Glasuegensis; with Observations on Ancient and Modern Tombs and Sepulture* (Glasgow: Atkinson & Company, 1831). Hereafter, *Necropolis Glasuegensis*.

¹⁰⁹ *Gatherings from Graveyards; Particularly Those of London. With a Concise History of the Modes of Interment among Different Nations from the Earliest Periods* (London: Longman, 1839). Hereafter, *Gatherings from Graveyards*.

¹¹⁰ Hereafter, 'Effect of Interment in Towns'. Mackinnon unsuccessfully attempted to make changes to the law in 1843.

¹¹¹ Hereafter, 'Practice of Interment in Towns'.

¹¹² More than 10,000 copies of the initial enquiry were distributed free of charge and supplied to every Mechanics Institute 'in the Kingdom', Samuel E. Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick* (London: Methuen, 1952), p. 210.

Chadwick, with the machinery of state printing behind him, reached a greater audience than John Loudon, but both men had encountered Jeremy Bentham as an old man, and both sought the widest possible distribution of their texts. Bentham's influence on their discourse is also suggested by the medicalisation of death, the questioning of religious practices and the recommendations for effective strategies that might benefit society as a whole.

The Times, though hostile to Chadwick, generally reported the findings of the government papers and the medical men, while Thomas James of the Tory *Quarterly Review* with an upper-class reading audience among the gentry, staked out the position of the Anglican Church. The radical press, however, including the *Northern Star*, and some unstamped weeklies such as the *Sheffield Iris* and the *Pioneer* proffered a different point of view. Hardship for the living poor, which had been one of the effects of the Poor Law Act of 1834, was extended to the dead as the bodies of the poor came within the jurisdiction of the workhouse rather than the church (see below).¹¹³ There was considerable resistance to the legislation, connected to the development of Chartism, and frustration at the electoral reforms of 1832, which left the majority of working men (and women) without the right to vote for representation in national government. Churchyards were represented in the radical press, not as a focus of disease, but rather as land to which they had rights of access. Indeed, as Thomas Laqueur has noted in his discussion of pauper funerals: 'Parishioners, through the churchwardens of each parish, had a freehold interest in the ground even if surface rights were tediously disputed in the courts'¹¹⁴ John Loudon's publication in 1843, then, was timely, as the topicality of the subject would boost sales of his magazine and book; his professional interests and the social history of the day coincided.

Death was an aspect of the here and now of early nineteenth century life, in a way that is not generally felt in twenty-first-century Britain. Chadwick's statistics for 1840 show that in Manchester, for example, one in two children of 'Agricultural Labourers and other Labourers, Artisans, and Servants' died under the age of five, whilst for the 'Gentry and Professional Persons', this rate was reduced to one in three.¹¹⁵ Equally, the perception of death as a matter for science was not widely shared in the period, partly because there was uncertainty about the exact point at which death occurred. As Walker reports, 'The difference between the end of a weak life, and the commencement of death, is so small, and the uncertainty

¹¹³ The effect of the act had been to separate numerous poor families, forcing them to labour in the workhouse, whilst others had to leave their local community to find work at ever decreasing rates of pay.

¹¹⁴ 'Bodies, Death, and Pauper Funerals', *Representations*, 1 (Feb 1983), 109–3 (115).

¹¹⁵ Chadwick, 'An Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population', p. 162. The number of children who died under one year per 1,000 live births in England and Wales in 1841 was 148, whilst in 2011 it was 4.2. See 'Statistical Bulletin: Childhood, Infant and Perinatal Mortality in England and Wales, 2011', Office for National Statistics, 2011, <<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/vsob1/child-mortality-statistics--childhood--infant-and-perinatal/2011/stb-cms-2011.html>>.

of the signs of the latter is so well established, that we can scarcely suppose undertakers capable of distinguishing an apparent from a real death'.¹¹⁶ Walker argues here for the competency of the medical profession over the undertaker. Moreover, a connection between body and soul was still generally accepted and church doctrine was not clear about the point at which they became separated. Both medical and doctrinal ambiguities led to the widespread fear of being buried alive and the practice of retaining the corpse in the home.¹¹⁷

By the early nineteenth century such beliefs and practices were less embedded in the culture of the wealthy for which the funeral was becoming an indication of material success. Pauper burial, in contrast, was a public manifestation of social failure and rendered the corpse vulnerable to violation. Indeed, the Anatomy Act of 1832 intensified the fear of the spectre of the body snatcher that had previously been shared across class, amongst the poor. It legalised the use of the bodies of those who had died in workhouses or hospitals, without friends or relatives to 'claim' them, for dissection. In many such cases the relatives would not have been able to pay the many charges connected with burial, as Ruth Richardson has observed in her account of religious belief and funeral customs in the period.¹¹⁸ The pressures on the poor then to avoid a 'pauper' burial were immense.

One of Chadwick's tables indicates that for the 'lower class of artisan' who formed the majority of the population in London in 1843, the cost of burial was £5.¹¹⁹ This was the equivalent of five months of pay, as the average weekly wage for this class at this time was approximately 5s.¹²⁰ Burial societies had developed in which small donations accrued so that the working poor would be able to afford a decent burial and there is evidence that the more local burial societies were effective or free from fraud.¹²¹ However, both John Loudon and Chadwick comment on the disproportionate amount of money that undertakers siphoned off from all classes, and the degree of corruption. Chadwick argues that his estimated 25–33 per cent of savings bank deposits spent on burial expenses would be better spent on the living, and that it constituted an unnecessary drain on the national

¹¹⁶ Walker, p. 192.

¹¹⁷ See Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987) and John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (London: Studio Vista, 1971).

¹¹⁸ Richardson, pp. 121–9.

¹¹⁹ 'Practice of Interment in Towns', p. 70.

¹²⁰ In London, wages in 1800 had been 25s. a week. By 1838 they had fallen to 5s. a week, see Marjorie Bloy, 'The Peel Web', in 'A Web of English History', < <http://www.historyhome.co.uk/peel/chartism/lonchar.htm> > [accessed 14 Feb 2013].

¹²¹ See Mary Hotz, 'Down among the Dead: Edwin Chadwick's Burial Reform Discourse in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 29.1 (2001), 21–38 (36). Revised version in *Literary Remains: Representations of Death and Burial in Victorian England* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), Ch. 1, pp. 13–35. All further references are to the 2009 publication.

economy.¹²² John Loudon was more concerned with the immediate domestic implications. The political visibility of the working classes at their funerals may have been another consideration in the attitudes of both writers.

The unstamped paper the *Pioneer*, representing unions from around the country, reported on the funerals of its members including linen operatives, carpenters and bricklayers. The rituals followed by large numbers of union members demonstrated working-class powers of organisation as groups and as individuals. Funerals are conducted with 'the most perfect order and decorum. [...] The women were all clean, neat, and well-dressed, and the appearance of the men was, without exception, respectable'.¹²³ They followed a defined order in which the leaders ('officers') might be dressed in white robes, bearing black or white rosettes, followed by the family and mourners, then the 'secretary' carrying a Bible on a velvet cushion and then members of other unions – 'lodges'.¹²⁴ After the burial and the church representative had departed, Psalm 133 would be sung emphasising the sense of community: 'Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity'.¹²⁵ This would be followed by a 'lodge' or union verse after which union members might deposit a sprig of laurel on the grave.¹²⁶ The procession might be three or four abreast and in costume; one chorus was reported as sounding like 'ten thousand voices'.¹²⁷ Religious observance here is subsumed into union ritual, dramatising 'social bonds transcending place and craft' exemplified by the badges of Figure 4.6.¹²⁸ Such a spectacle would have had great impact on those taking part as well as those observing it and on those reading reports of it.

Numbers of participants at funerals varied. In London, trade funerals were said to be small, but the procession for a Barnsley linen operative was reported to be of 1,500 people with 5,000 spectators;¹²⁹ in Hinkley, Leicestershire, 1,500 followed their 'departed brother' with up to 10,000 spectators;¹³⁰ while more than 4,000 witnessed the funeral of Joseph Timson, also near Hinkley.¹³¹ Some saw these funerals as a means of asserting solidarity leading to industrial action: 'The procession to the grave will sow the seeds of organisation for our march to freedom'.¹³² The *Pioneer* had a paid circulation of up to 20,000 and would have

¹²² 'Practice of Interment in Towns', pp. 55–6.

¹²³ *Pioneer*, 1 (Feb 1834), 177–8 (177).

¹²⁴ See *ibid.* (177) and *ibid.*, 1 (29 March 1834), 266–7 (266).

¹²⁵ Laqueur, 'Bodies' (118).

¹²⁶ See *ibid.*, for an account of union funerals, 117–8.

¹²⁷ *Pioneer*, 1 (29 March 1834), 266–7 (267).

¹²⁸ Laqueur, 'Bodies', 118.

¹²⁹ *Pioneer*, 1 (29 March 1834), 266–7 (267); Laqueur, 'Bodies', 117.

¹³⁰ *Pioneer*, 1 (22 Feb 1834), 213.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 1 (29 March 1834), 278.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 1 (12 April 1834), 298.

would speedily be enough for immediate relief, and in a very few weeks might place many in a way of maintaining themselves by their own labour, and of holding out to employers an example of an independent manufactory, which would be a sure check to their future oppressions.

Subscriptions may be sent to the *Pioneer* office, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields; or to the Executive, 113, High Holborn.

UNION BADGES.

The following are specimens of Union Badges and centres for rosettes, printed on silk by Brother Harding, 10, Grafton-street, Soho. The Badges are sold at 1d. and the centres at 1d. each. As all these little emblems and tokens of respect have a tendency to inspire the mind with the kindlier feelings, we thought it probable that our country brothers would like to see them in print.



THE WALSALL DERBY COMMITTEE.

Earnestly appeal to the sympathies of their fellow-operators and to the generous public, to make another effort in behalf of the patient and heroic men and women of Derby, to rescue those, about five hundred in number, who have not yet been starved into compliance with the unwise and mistaken policy of their

employers, and to complete the arrangements now in progress to find them employment, until the working men, by their peaceable and orderly demeanour, emanating from the principles inculcated at their lodges, shall have disarmed their employers of their unfounded prejudices relative to the objects of Trades' Unions; they will then discover that the ultimate aim of the working classes is to raise themselves to that state of morality and prosperity, which shall diminish the number of our paupers, thin the streets and the wretched haunts of prostitution, deprive the jails and scaffolds of their numerous unfortunate victims, and ultimately add to the happiness of every order of society.

Subscriptions received:—Mr. Stevens, 4s. 10d.; Mr. Hickin, 14s. 6d.; Mr. Roper, 5s. 0d.; Mr. Evans, 1s. 5d.; Mr. Spink, 7s. 2d.; Saddlers, Bridle-cutters, &c., 2s. 8d.; Mr. Wood, 3s.; Mr. Fletcher, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Burk, 1s. 8d.; Mr. Freeman, 6s. 1d.; Mr. W. Wood, Black Boy, 4s. 5d.; Mr. Kidd, 3s. 2d.; Mr. Chatwin, 2s. 5d.; Mr. Bibb, 3s. 4d.; Mr. Brown, 2s. 3d.; Mr. Elton, 1s. 3d.; Mr. Gnosill, 2s. 4d.; Thick Coal-getters, per C. Jones, 0s. 6d.; Mr. Swift, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Shale, 3s. 11d.; Mr. G. Webster, 8s. 6d.; Mr. James, 8s. 2d.—Total, £5 1s. 0d.

God Speed the Right!!

J. H.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

DERBY LIST.

Received at the Pioneer Office, London.

R. S., by J. Dixon	£0 0 9
Brush-makers, Strand	0 4 3
A few Bricklayers and Friends, at the Woodman, John-street	0 10 3
A few Jewellers, at Messrs. Mosley's shop, by Coxhead	0 6 6
Mr. Cowie's men, platers	0 2 0
Messrs. Warner's workmen	0 3 0
From Peckham New Town.—By W. Williams, at the Duke of Sussex, 7s 9d; Smith's Arms, Old Kent-road, 5s 3d; a few Friends, 2s 6d; by J. Colyer, 1s 6d	0 17 0
Five Leather-dressers, Church-street, Bermondsey.	0 3 0

THE DORCHESTER LIST.

May 25.—A few type-founders at Mr. Figgins's, West-street, Smithfield	0 3 4
A few Friends, from the Boot, Cromer-street, Branswick-square	0 4 0
Radical George, of Strood	0 2 6
Mr. Rathbone, leather cutter and grinder, by J. Diamond	0 1 0

THE TAILORS' STRIKE.

A few Compositors, (2nd subscription)	0 13 6
<i>Received by Mr. Austin, 14, Charlotte-street.</i>	
A Compositor, per J. Williamson, 2s 6d; Non Unionists, per J. Reid, 5s 6d; Friends, 5s 3d; A Compositor, 6d—Paid Executive, 14s 9d.	

CORRESPONDENTS.

The poetry sent us by our friend W. P. is to our taste, but the public ear at present is not attuned to melody. It often grieves us to have to lay aside the out-pourings of ardent minds: as individuals, we have a peculiar relish for popular ballads, and by and by, when agitation becomes a little steady, shall select a few of the most original for insertion.

Brother Jonathan's remarks are very proper and highly useful, but we think that advice of this kind had better be forwarded to the Committee of Management, who cannot fail to profit by it.

We are afraid that P. A. S. wrote in haste this week.

We are pleased with the Poor Man's Friend for his communication; but we fear it is not altogether suitable at present.

Mr. Higginson's letter has been received, and will be attended to. We have received no communication from the Tailors this week.

T.B., Amicus, and Another Lawyer's Clerk, are in type.

Cousins, Printer, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn, and 378, Strand.

Fig. 4.6 Funerary union badges, *Pioneer* (7 June 1834), 400 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 3766

been read many times more than the numbers sold.¹³³ Such public manifestations of working-class solidarity and organisational powers were consequently outlawed with the banning of 'trade' funerals in 1834 and the closure of the paper in the same year.

Not all alternative funerals could be stopped. They were also the focus of religious difference and provided 'displays of denominational solidarity' reported in the *Manchester Guardian*.¹³⁴ The *Northern Star* listed the relatively modest funeral of Henry Hurst of Hull, 'a brother of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows' who was accompanied by 'above four hundred brethren forming a splendid and orderly procession'.¹³⁵ According to its editorial, nearly 11,000 copies of the paper had been sold, so, again, many more people would have been made aware of the occasion. However, it may have been the 'martyr's funeral' of Samuel Holberry, a Chartist leader, in July 1842, which attracted crowds of between 20,000 (according to the *Sheffield Iris*, a paper with Whig affiliations) and 50,000 (according to the *Northern Star*, a more partisan Chartist paper), which most disturbed those in government.¹³⁶ The timing of his funeral, *after* the investigations of the Mackinnon Select Committee on 'Interment in Towns' from March to May of that year, may have prompted the further investigation by Chadwick. The interest in the government in matters of interment then, was political, although it was presented in terms of medical science and economics.

Churchyards and burial grounds provided an alternative space to the street, market or the alehouse, where the poor could meet in large numbers, outside work and beyond supervision. The ritual of the funeral and the space of the burial ground persisted as cultural spaces which the poor could claim for themselves; indeed, they provided locations for political meetings, partly because the access of the urban poor to open spaces was minimal.¹³⁷ There were few public gardens, some of these, such as Kensington Gardens in London, excluded the poor, and urban common land which the poor could use when at leisure, was increasingly being built over, as we have seen in the first part of this chapter.

Walker, Strang and Science

Gatherings from Graveyards, George Walker's survey of London burial grounds of 1839, was based on interviews with local people and burial-ground workers. Taking a history of world burial practices as its starting point, it had a different

¹³³ See Laqueur, 'Bodies', 129.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹³⁵ *Northern Star* (6 Jan 1838), 5.

¹³⁶ See Laqueur, 'Bodies', 118.

¹³⁷ Eileen Yeo's pioneering research documented how the poor were excluded from churches and churchyards, 'Culture and Constraint in Working-Class Movements, 1830–55', in *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590–1914*, (ed.) Eileen and Stephen Yeo (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981), pp. 155–86 (pp. 158–9).

focus from the unstamped and Chartist press. Priced at 8s. 6d., this 279-page book (14 x 22 cm), was printed in a large font size with generous margins. Walker, a Quaker by birth, prioritised scientists over church believers in his address to readers; the 'enlightened Statesman' and the 'profound Philosopher' precede the 'benevolent Christian' and 'all men' concerned about the issues.¹³⁸ *Gatherings* was cheaper than John Loudon's crammed and densely printed text, partly because it contained no engravings. Walker set out to shock male readers into reform through gruesome narrative and statistics, the model followed to varying degrees by John Loudon and Chadwick.

Walker argued that the emphasis on burial or cremation outside the city by most religions, including early Christianity, was based on the dangers to health that corpses held for the living in densely populated areas. He reports that the corpse could be dangerous at two points; '*immediately after death*, and [at] *the extreme degree of putrefaction*', and suggests that contaminated particles are transmitted through the air – the 'miasma'.¹³⁹ These are absorbed by the living through proximity, either to an individual corpse, the surgeon examining a corpse and the gravedigger, for example, or by those living nearby stacks of bodies or parts of them that were to be found in metropolitan churchyards and burial grounds. The causes of malaria, typhoid and dysentery were not yet clearly established and Walker argued that the corpse was a site of contagion.¹⁴⁰ He notes the connection between areas of housing in which there were no arrangements for sewage and high mortality rates, but his main focus is on the danger posed by overcrowded burial grounds rather than overcrowded homes. Cited in *The Times* and in government papers, Walker's findings are redirected by Chadwick to focus on the dangers of the corpse within the home and the reduction in the capacity to work of living members during the period of mourning.¹⁴¹ John Loudon, in contrast, cites Walker to make his case for new burial grounds to be constructed outside cities, town centres or villages for aesthetic and educational as well as medical reasons.

The opening pages of John Loudon's *Cemeteries and Churchyards*, however, read like a prolonged verbal dissection as his readers are taken through a step-by-step description of the decomposition of the body in the earth:

The face of a dead body deposited in the free soil is generally destroyed in three or four months, but the thorax or abdomen undergo very little change, except in colour till the fourth month. The last part of the muscular fibre which decays is the upper part of the thigh, which in some subjects resists putrefaction for four or five years. [...]

¹³⁸ Walker, p. vii.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁴⁰ He concluded that, in general, gravediggers developed resistance.

¹⁴¹ See Hotz, *Literary Remains*, p. 20.

Bones are chiefly composed of phosphate of lime deposited in gelatine, an animal tissue; and, unless acted upon by powerful acids, they will endure, either in the soil or in the atmosphere, for many centuries.¹⁴²

The intactness of the body is called into question by this calculated and dramatic 'scientific' account.¹⁴³ The human body as animal was acceptable discourse in medical or technical publications such as that by Walker, but *Cemeteries and Churchyards* as part of the *Gardener's Magazine* was intended for general readers, who might also be women. The text may well have offended polite readers and higher church orthodoxy as the reaction of James of the *Quarterly Review* indicates (see below). Indeed, Chadwick had avoided the issue of burial in his initial report on *Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population* because he had been 'unwilling to give offence'.¹⁴⁴ It was only after the Mackinnon Select Committee, 'Effect of Interment in Towns' had been published that Chadwick was commissioned to research and record such information, although, as we have seen, other factors may have determined the government's interest.

Given the process of decomposition, John Loudon argues that the practice of burial in 'a wooden coffin in the free soil' which allows for the gradual release of noxious gases should be the method of disposal for bodies of 'every class'.¹⁴⁵ Provided enough space is allocated, the body need never be disturbed and would remain useful even in death, providing nutrients (indirectly) for the gardens that the cemeteries would become. The argument is utilitarian and presupposes a vision of a better experience of everyday life rather than of the world to come.

The idea of burial ground as garden was anticipated by John Strang (1795–1863), a Scot, who, like John Loudon, was a competent artist with an interest in architecture, as well as a journalist, before he became a statistician. In his *Necropolis Glaswegensis* (1831), a modest 65-page publication, the first plate (of two) portrays the future cemetery as landscape.¹⁴⁶ Dedicated to the 'Members of the Merchants' House of Glasgow', a charity similar to a town council which was to pay for the cemetery, the second plate features Père Lachaise, one of the first municipal cemeteries in Europe, established in 1804 just outside Paris. Strang's endorsement of the cemetery is cited by John Loudon: 'Here the bodies of the people of every nation, of every condition, of every age, of every religion are found congregated', united in the 'peace-making dust of the sepulchre'.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² C&C, p. 3.

¹⁴³ Loudon mentions that the body 'is considered unfit for dissection after it has been interred eight or nine weeks' (C&C, p. 3).

¹⁴⁴ Finer, p. 230.

¹⁴⁵ C&C, p. 2. 'Free soil'; soil as opposed to clay or gravel, and brick graves, catacombs or burial in churches favoured by some of the upper classes and the aristocracy until the 1850s.

¹⁴⁶ *Necropolis* and C&C are the same page size both are referred to as pamphlets.

¹⁴⁷ Strang, pp. 31–2, C&C, p. 11.

The apparent equality and inclusiveness of Père Lachaise however, were based on economics, as the poor could not pay for permanent graves and by mid-century the bodies of the poor were being shovelled into ‘fosses communes’. The same economic principle applied to Strang’s Cemetery since it was created largely as a result of the shortage of burial space for the upper classes of Glasgow, and allocation of space for poor burial was in the least favourable part of the ground.¹⁴⁸ Strang predicted that the cemetery would generate income for the Merchants’ House charity. Other cemeteries such as those in Liverpool (Low Hill (nonconformist) 1825 and St James (Anglican) 1829) were lucrative for individual shareholders. In an address to the General Cemetery Company published in *The Times* in July 1830, George Frederick Carden, a barrister, who paved the way for cemeteries in the vicinity of London, Kensal Green in this instance, states that ‘there was no doubt that the undertaking would prove profitable to the share-holders’ given the financial record of the cemeteries in Liverpool.¹⁴⁹ Cemeteries may have begun partly to meet the needs of non-Anglicans, but the built-in calculation of profit, based on the number of plots available, rendered their growth parallel to that of contemporary ‘speculative building projects’ for the living.¹⁵⁰

John Loudon’s Designs for Cemeteries

Two plates of a recently opened London cemetery, Norwood (1837), which was run by the South Metropolitan Cemetery Company, are included in *Cemeteries and Churchyards*. Figure 4.7 shows Norwood planted in the ‘pleasure-ground’ style as it existed in the 1843; Figure 4.8 shows it planted in the ‘cemetery style’ as it might look if John Loudon were to redesign it. The layout of Norwood is, as its caption (not shown) suggests, derived from the ‘pleasure-ground’, which was land owned by the wealthy ‘cultivated with lawns, ornamental plantings and architecture’ and designed for the pedestrian, as distinct from the park, which was designed to be viewed from horseback or carriage.¹⁵¹

At Norwood, curving paths, trees in irregular clumps and funerary monuments create spaces of privacy and intimacy. The bank of mature trees at the entrance and the solid extensive wall around the cemetery protect mourners from the eyes of outsiders and prevent the public (as opposed to polite society) from any glimpse or entry. The privilege, then, of private property and the recreation of the exclusive space of the landed estate are built into the structure of the cemetery.

¹⁴⁸ Land would be provided for the ‘common sepulture’ close to a mill stream, by raising the ground level by eight feet, Strang, p. 43.

¹⁴⁹ *The Times*, 6 July 1830, p. 3. Kensal Green first opened in 1833, but its building was not completed until 1837; Norwood opened for business in 1837; Highgate, 1839; Nunhead and Abney Park, 1840; Tower Hamlets, 1841 and Brompton, 1842.

¹⁵⁰ Laqueur, ‘Bodies’, 116.

¹⁵¹ Symes, p. 94.

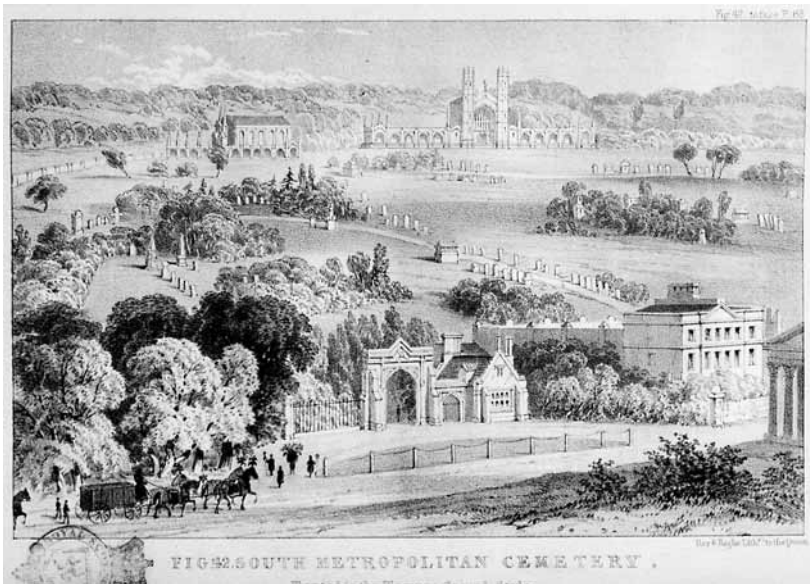


Fig. 4.7 Norwood Cemetery planted in the 'pleasure-ground' style, *Cemeteries and Churchyards*, opp. p. 68 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark B. 1. e. 12

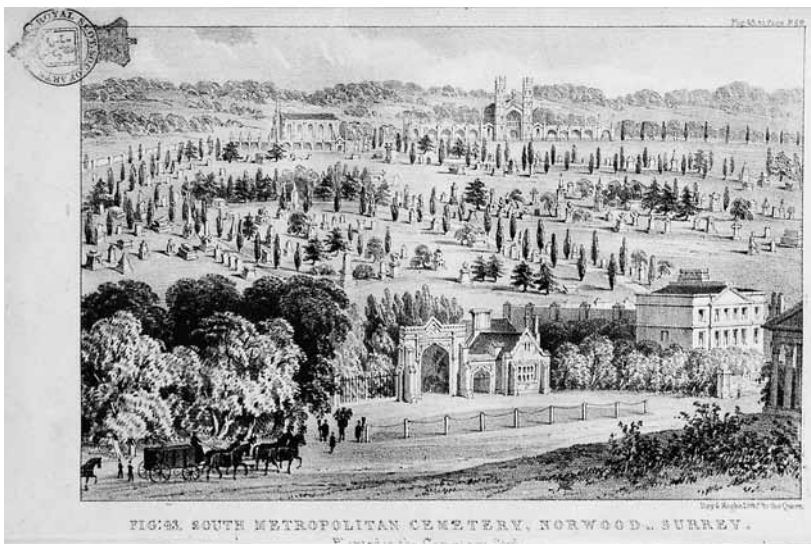


Fig. 4.8 Norwood Cemetery planted in John Loudon's 'cemetery' style, *Cemeteries and Churchyards*, opp. p. 69 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark B. 1. e. 12

John Loudon's transformation of the pleasure ground of Norwood into something quite other demonstrates his opposition to the picturesque conventions of the most financially successful of the London cemeteries, Kensal Green, Highgate and Norwood. These cemeteries enhanced or confirmed the social status of their occupants and excluded the majority of the population through layout and economics. The removal of most of the groups of shrubs in the amended engraving of Norwood, apart from those at the entrance, opens up the space within, and renders mourners or visitors visible to each other. The planting of evergreens along the paths would give privacy and restrict visitors to the paths, whilst also underlining the formality and communality of the space. It might be that the openness and clarity of John Loudon's alterations tend to mitigate against emotional display, the result, perhaps, of his Calvinist upbringing discussed in Chapter 1. He is explicit about the serious communal purpose of the cemetery in preference to the euphemism of the pleasure ground: 'We do not say that everyone who compares the two pictures will prefer ours to the other [...] but we do expect that all will acknowledge that there is a distinctive character in our view, and this is what we chiefly contend for'.¹⁵²

The landscape of privilege and tradition deconstructed in John Loudon's engraving of Norwood is followed through in his design for a cemetery at Cambridge (Figure 4.9), which was the first of three cemetery commissions, and the starting point for *Cemeteries and Churchyards*. The cemetery was 'intended for all sects and parties indiscriminately', although for the 'middle class' chiefly.¹⁵³ Its foundation was driven by nonconformist need, as were a number of the early cemeteries. The company was private and the cemetery required to generate income for shareholders. Funded in a similar manner to the Norwood Cemetery and the cemeteries of the General Cemetery Company, John Loudon's practical recommendations in terms of poor burial, internal layout and perimeters were very different.

The areas marked 'M' (Figure 4.9) indicate the main burial ground for 'beds where the graves may either be plain or turf graves, graves with head-stones, or be rendered otherwise ornamental at pleasure'.¹⁵⁴ This is a mixed-income burial ground in which the turf grave of poor burial is represented as an aesthetic alternative to the monuments of the wealthy. The poor body may be acknowledged as a visible or named presence: 'the appearance of the turf mound over the grave is the expression of purpose or use, and this expression is essential to every work of art'.¹⁵⁵ The areas marked 'O' (Figure 4.9) are for single grass graves, some of which are positioned close to the 18-foot-wide grove that borders the burial ground, the main paths and the crossroads of the cemetery. The spaces between the trees of the grove, and the closest and most visible to cemetery visitors, will be for

¹⁵² C&C, p. 69.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 41.

gravel, for the purpose of more immediately and effectually absorbing the water which falls on the surface of the beds. In order to carry off the water from the main road, and also from the walk on the terrace, small branch drains are to be formed, as indicated in the blue dotted lines in the plan.

Trees are shown planted along the walks at regular distances. Those along the central road are supposed to be chiefly Taurian pines (*Pinus taurica*), because that species has a dark and solemn air, readily clothes itself with branches from the ground upwards, and its branches admit of "cutting in" to any extent, so as to form the tree into as narrow a cone as may be desirable. Add to these advantages, that this is one of the most rapid-growing of pines. The trees marked s s, &c., are supposed to be cedars of Lebanon; and the four marked τ τ, &c, deodar cedars. The trees v v, &c., bordering the terrace walk, are proposed to be Irish yews. The trees round the reserve ground, E and F, are to be either Taurian or black Austrian pines (*P. austriaca*); the latter a tree that has most of the properties of the Taurian pine, with the advantage of being somewhat cheaper to purchase.

At any future period, should there be a demand for catacombs, a range of these can be substituted for the curvilinear walk at the eastern extremity, by removing the holly hedge, and by forming a handsome arcade there, with vaults behind and underneath, as in the Munich and Kensal Green Cemeteries.

Details. — The following is a summary of the details of the ground plan, No. 1. [fig. 33. : owing to the

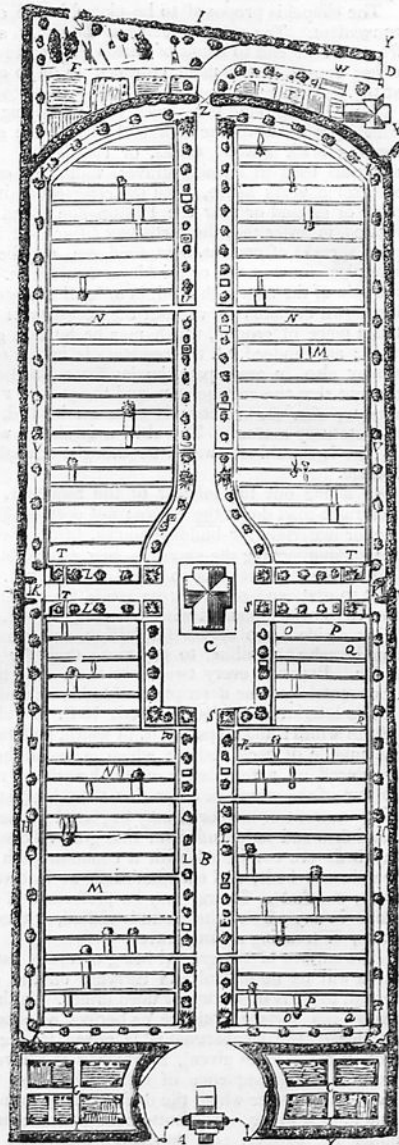


Fig. 33. Ground Plan of the Cambridge Cemetery.

‘those who are willing to pay more than for permanent graves in the interior’.¹⁵⁶ The graves of the poor will be bordering either the most expensive monuments or lie between ornamental graves within the main burial ground.

This aspect of the Cambridge design is partly John Loudon’s response to the corrupt practices of some of the London cemeteries in which the graves of the poor, along with pauper graves, were separated from those who could afford to pay for stone monuments. As Laqueur has pointed out, ‘Prior to the sanitary regulations of the late 1840s, private cemeteries could sell to the poor as many places in a common grave as the depth of the shaft would allow’.¹⁵⁷ John Loudon’s report on the General Cemetery Company in charge of Kensal Green highlights the degree of miscalculation made in order to persuade shareholders to invest. He alerts readers to the horrors that would ensue even if a reduced number of burials were carried out in such a small space.¹⁵⁸ He observes, ‘one would think that the poor were considered as animals of a different species, or as totally without the feelings which belong to the rest of mankind’ and reminds readers that ‘most paupers, in the ordinary state of the country; are aged persons, no longer able to work from infirmity or disease’.¹⁵⁹ This was also Walker’s argument; the wealthy can pay for a secure ‘resting place’ but the ‘*middleman*, the tradesman, the artisan, and the mechanic, the man who labours from the rising to the setting sun [...] and the very poor, cannot’.¹⁶⁰

Every burial in general, John Loudon suggests, should be at least six feet deep, or should allow for six feet in between bodies in multiple graves (of up to 12 bodies), to permit the release of noxious gases into the soil. In Cambridge the deepest grave for both ‘common’ and ‘family’ graves should allow for no more than four bodies, and there should be six feet of earth in between. The price he recommends for ‘single interment in a common grave is £1 10s. which is only 5s. per interment more than is charged in the Tower Hamlets Cemetery’, which accepted 12–15 bodies per common grave.¹⁶¹ His recommended price was high though, and more than double the weekly wage of the ‘lower class of artisan’. As a concession to the wealthier inhabitants of the cemetery, he allocates spaces for brick graves (‘P’, Figure 4.9) and for burial vaults (‘Q’, Figure 4.9), as well as a possible area for catacombs to be built above ground in the future.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁵⁷ Laqueur, ‘Bodies’, 116.

¹⁵⁸ Loudon’s conclusion is based on Walker’s theory of contagion through ‘miasma’: ‘Then indeed these seven acres, [...] might be considered as the crater of a volcano, vomiting forth poison in the form of a column of gaseous matter, which [...] would poison the atmosphere for many miles around’ (C&C, p. 47). The bodies of the poor pose this apocalyptic threat to the wider population, but, he argues, it is the greed of the Cemetery Company managers and the shareholders, which is responsible.

¹⁵⁹ C&C, pp. 47–8.

¹⁶⁰ Walker, p. 190.

¹⁶¹ C&C, p. 61.

The clearly defined horizontals and verticals of the Cambridge design facilitate the transport of bodies, the direction of funeral processions and the mapping of graves. John Loudon hopes that 'funerals may be commodiously performed, or any grave visited, without treading on graves already occupied'.¹⁶² The open square spaces also allow currents of air to pass through and prevent the land from becoming clogged up, aiding decomposition of the corpse. Simo has argued that the use of space by John Loudon 'demonstrated the order and efficient land use of densely settled towns' and that this was a radical departure in cemetery design.¹⁶³ Defined straight lines were, however, a feature of some eastern cemeteries. An engraving of the cemetery of the poet Hafiz in Persia (Iran), originally produced for *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* and included in *Cemeteries and Churchyards*, suggests Eastern influences on the design for Cambridge. Both share a rectangular grid and rows of regularly spaced single trees. It might be that John Loudon's spiralling design for a hill cemetery (Figure 4.10) recalls the layout of Chinese and Turkish cemeteries engraved in *Cemeteries and Churchyards*. He is open about such influences as he suggests that readers should look to the East as well as the Continent for ideas about burial.¹⁶⁴

The eye of the visitor or mourner at Cambridge is drawn straight to the central building, the nonconformist chapel, because of the straightness of the route and the effect of the Taurian pines, a species that 'has a dark and solemn air' and lends itself to narrow clipping suggestive of pillars.¹⁶⁵ The yews, along the main drives will have a similar effect. John Loudon favours evergreens because of their historical association with the dead and the greater 'solemnity' and 'grandeur' suggested by their dark foliage in comparison with the 'variety' produced by deciduous trees'.¹⁶⁶ Communal activity is promoted in preference to individual subjectivity, indicated by the emphasis on solemnity and the associations of that word with the ratification of oaths (the law) and 'special ceremonies' (*OED*). Death, in Cambridge, is ratified by society, with mourners on display.

The argument for evergreens was also practical as their long, narrow shape creates limited shade, their needles do not rot in the ground and they smell pleasant. In contrast, the curving 'belts' of native British deciduous trees impede the circulation of air and create excessive shade. Deciduous trees were part of the topography of upper-class private landscape re-created in the enclosed pleasure grounds of the successful new London cemeteries. John Loudon is uncompromising: 'Every mode of introducing trees and shrubs which is identical with that practised in planting parks and pleasure-grounds is to be avoided'.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁶³ Simo, p. 288.

¹⁶⁴ See *C&C*, p. 69.

¹⁶⁵ *C&C*, p. 56.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ *C&C*, p. 20.

Enlightenment and Burial Grounds

The idea that the environment might influence behaviour was part of enlightenment discourse. In the opening pages of *Cemeteries and Churchyards*, John Loudon cites a passage from Wordsworth:¹⁶⁸

Let a man only compare, in imagination, the unsightly manner in which our monuments are crowded together in the busy, noisy, unclean, and almost grassless churchyard of a large town, with the still seclusion of a Turkish cemetery in some remote place, and yet further sanctified by the grove of cypress in which it is embosomed.¹⁶⁹

Wordsworth favours the seclusion of the burial ground, far removed from the business of the city, in which the individual finds meaning in isolation, introspection and contemplation of the afterlife. Mary Hotz has argued that such isolation voids the ground of political meaning to be found in the burial grounds located at the centre of the local (poor) communities.¹⁷⁰ We have seen that John Loudon also favoured groves of trees and seclusion. Communal solemnity like individual retrospection excludes some kinds of behaviour. He recommends, for example, that ‘improper persons’ and those engaged in ‘smoking, drinking, or even eating [...] running, or jumping, laughing, whistling or singing’ should be denied entry to cemeteries.¹⁷¹ His vocabulary is similar to that used by some witnesses for Chadwick to describe the behaviour of the poor.¹⁷² It might suggest that John Loudon wanted the poor to conform to his own social mores when alive. However, as union funerals reported by the radical press demonstrated, respect for the dead was not confined to the middle classes.

In the past, John Loudon suggests, the country churchyard had served to educate the poor. It had been ‘the country labourer’s only library; and to it was limited his knowledge of history, chronology, and biography; every grave was to him a page, and every head-stone or tomb a picture or an engraving’.¹⁷³ Now that country churchyards are so neglected, John Loudon hopes that the cemetery will

¹⁶⁸ John Loudon incorrectly accredits to Coleridge a passage from Wordsworth’s ‘Essay upon Epitaphs’, possibly because it was first published in Coleridge’s magazine the *Friend*. Chadwick quotes from the essay more extensively, but credits Wordsworth, ‘Practice of Interment in Towns’, pp. 143–4.

¹⁶⁹ *C&C*, p. 8. Nicholas B. Penny notes that Wordsworth was opposed to the import of non-native trees, so was not necessarily endorsing the model in Britain, ‘The Commercial Garden Necropolis of the Early Nineteenth Century and its Critics’, *GH*, 2.3 (Summer 1974), 61–76 (63).

¹⁷⁰ See Hotz, *Literary Remains*, p. 25.

¹⁷¹ *C&C*, p. 39.

¹⁷² See account by Rev. William Stone of Spitalfields in Chadwick, ‘Practice of Interment in Towns’, p. 83. Hotz, *Literary Remains*, p. 25.

¹⁷³ *C&C*, p. 13.

become 'a school of instruction in architecture, sculpture, landscape-gardening, arboriculture, botany and in those important points of general gardening, neatness, order and high keeping'.¹⁷⁴ He argues, then, for cemeteries to become spaces of enlightenment accessible to all, but his emphasis on 'neatness' and 'order' might be a reflection of the kind of behaviour he expects to see from the living. The idea that emotional or other behaviours might be mitigated by design lie at the heart of utilitarian discourse and environmental improvement; they are part of a movement to secularise culture which had previously been determined by the church or local custom. His plans and engravings, however, suggest much greater plurality and inclusiveness than the portrayal of two monolithic cultures in an unequal struggle for power described by some cultural historians.¹⁷⁵

John Loudon designed three cemeteries between 1842 and 1843 and each commission was from a different kind of institution. The first, at Cambridge was private and speculative; the second for Southampton, was paid for by Southampton Town Council out of public funds; his final design for Bath was private and ecclesiastical, commissioned by the rector of Bath Abbey. One might expect that the difference in commission, the first which was primarily commercial, and the others less so, would have resulted in different kinds of cemetery design. Each of his clients, however, altered his designs and adopted the conventions of the Picturesque favoured by the private cemeteries. At Cambridge the general layout was not altered, but the Italianate style for the architecture, the style of dissenting chapels as illustrated in the Cambridge plan, was rejected by his nonconformist clients in favour of the gothic.¹⁷⁶ Simo has documented his plan for Southampton and its failure to be realised.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, it is now known that his plan for a hill cemetery (Figure 4.10), once thought to have been carried out at Abbey Cemetery, near Prior Park, Bath, was never executed.

The Tory Response

The recommendations for the regulation of burial in *Cemeteries and Churchyards* amounted to an attack on the all-encompassing control of the church authorities. John Loudon argued that if Mackinnon passed a law in which three conditions

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 12–13.

¹⁷⁵ 'There was no question of the bourgeoisie maintaining its own social mores and allowing a vigorous plebeian culture to co-exist' (Eileen Yeo, 'Culture and Constraint', p. 160). In a more recent and nuanced argument Hotz suggests that Loudon and Chadwick share a desire to reform the poor 'to serve the interests of the wealthy', *Literary Remains*, p. 29.

¹⁷⁶ The architect E. B. Lamb provided Gothic- and Renaissance-style alternatives.

¹⁷⁷ John Loudon's plans for the Anglican and Dissenting chapels to be the same size, positioned back to back and sharing the main road was rejected by the Bishop of Winchester. Instead, they were built free-standing, each 'with their own curving side road', and screened by trees (Simo, p. 287).

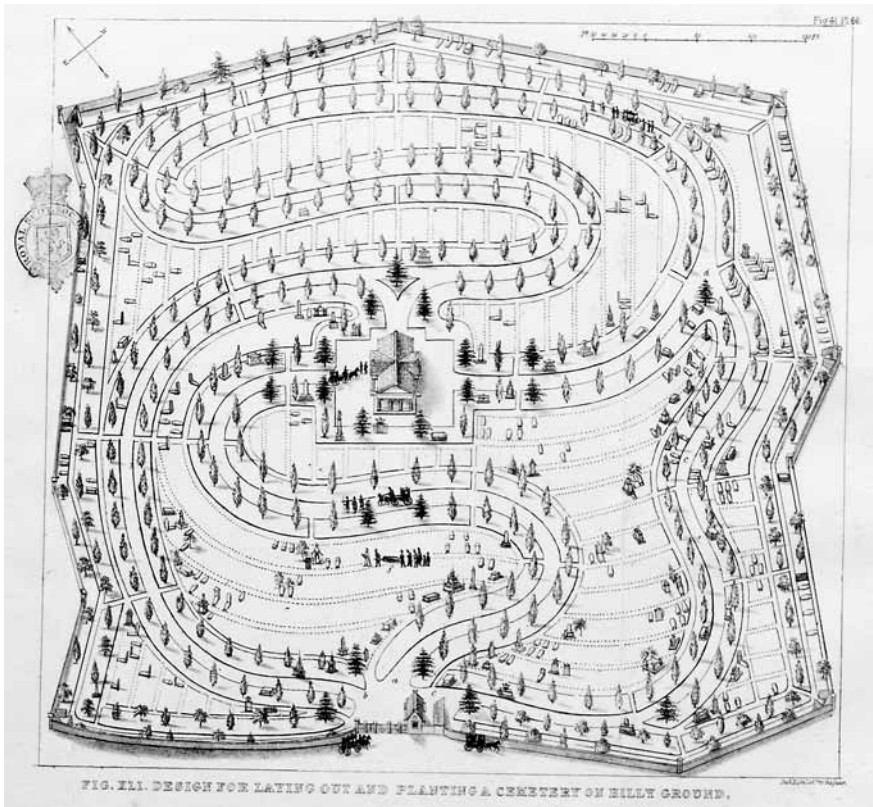


Fig. 4.10 Design for a hill cemetery showing a variety of funerary transport, *Cemeteries and Churchyards*, opp. p. 66 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark B. 1. e. 12

are met – burial in the soil to specified depths and distances from other graves, no burial in catacombs or vaults, new burial grounds to be located outside highly populated areas whether city or town – every district would be able to solve the crisis locally. Local organization rather than a centralized state was his preferred model. He also supported the idea of individual cemeteries for every sect, trade and profession, suggesting that he was in favour of a plurality of social bonds rather than just those of church and family.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ See *C&C*, pp. 43–4. Chadwick was also keen to reduce church control, but he outlined a national strategy for the state to take over the process with a centrally appointed ‘medical officer’ to record the moment and cause of death, and government-run vast cemeteries across Britain.

These points were noted by one of his most strident critics, Thomas James (1809–1863), in the *Quarterly Review* of March 1844.¹⁷⁹ In a review of a series of publications on burial and churchyards including those by Walker, Strang, and Chadwick (amongst others), James summarises John Loudon's contribution as follows: 'It was impossible for a mere utilitarian mind rightly to embrace a subject which hangs so closely on the confines of another world. His book, therefore, though useful in many of its suggestions, falls altogether short as a guide to what a Christian cemetery ought to be'.¹⁸⁰ This reaction was not surprising, as James, was a 'divine' with a vested interest in maintaining the supremacy of the Church of England.

However, James supports a number of John Loudon's recommendations. He favours burial in the soil, he is against burial in catacombs and he endorses interment outside the city based on the historical claims of Walker. He is, though, hostile to John Loudon's secular approach because it might lead to the loss of responsibility and control over burial matters by the church authorities. He frames his argument in anti-utilitarian terms, using the vocabulary of profit and loss. John Loudon attempted to grapple with the problems caused by the impoverished dead with his proposal for large 'temporary cemeteries', or, on a small scale, putting aside part of the workhouse garden which could then be 'restored to cultivation after a sufficient time had elapsed'.¹⁸¹ James suggests that the notorious 'common pits' of Naples and Leghorn are preferable to John Loudon's plans 'to convert paupers into manure'.¹⁸² He is disgusted by 'these nice calculations' through which 'the greatest number of troublesome bodies' should be got rid of 'at the least possible expense, and to the greatest possible advantage'.¹⁸³ Moreover, he is silent concerning the temporary nature of common graves in the churchyard or burial ground in which reuse generally begins after a maximum of 12 to 14 years.¹⁸⁴ John Loudon's plans take this process into account.

Funerary transport was another point of contention; it formed an important part of John Loudon's discourse on burial grounds. If the grounds were to be situated some distance from the city, ways had to be devised for people to reach them. The bodies of the poor and mourners might be transported from London, for example, by railway or 'steamboat hearse'.¹⁸⁵ His design for a hill cemetery (Figure 4.10) incorporates other methods including Mr Shillibeer's funeral carriage for the

¹⁷⁹ 'Cemeteries and Churchyards – Funerals and Funeral Expenses', *QR*, 73 (March 1844), 438–77.

¹⁸⁰ *QR*, 73 (March 1844), 438–77 (451). Simo, p. 282.

¹⁸¹ *C&C*, pp. 48–50. The idea of large suburban cemeteries was developed by Chadwick.

¹⁸² *QR*, 73 (March 1844), 438–77 (451).

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 451–2.

¹⁸⁴ 'On the Choice of a Situation for a Church; and on the Laying out and Planting of the Churchyard', *Architectural Magazine*, 5 (Aug 1838), 345–60 (351).

¹⁸⁵ *C&C*, p. 49.

single- or two-horse hearse (by entrance, Figure 4.10), Mr Juke's truck hearse ('e', top right, Figure 4.10), and the hand-bier ('f', above entrance, Figure 4.10). John Loudon explains that for those 'who have not attended a walking funeral' (the majority of readers), 'very disagreeable effects' may be felt by those carrying the coffin 'especially to the man at the head, whose head and shoulders are under the pall, of the smell, and sometimes the moisture, proceeding from the coffin'.¹⁸⁶ With Mr Juke's machine the coffin would be more easily transported and would constitute a service to the poor. The integration of the cheapest modes of transport into his idealised future cemetery might be to raise their status and remove the stigma of poverty with which they were generally associated.¹⁸⁷

John Loudon rejects the pomp of 'respectable' funerals and, implicitly, the theatrical display of union funerals as well, because 'the practice seems inconsistent with real sorrow, and should therefore be rejected by people of common sense'.¹⁸⁸ He does, however, indicate ways in which the poor might enjoy a decent funeral. James's does not even mention walking funerals. He mocks the single-horse hearse, 'the cruelty van'; suggesting it represents cruelty to animals as the horse has to drag both the coffin and mourners in the carriage behind.¹⁸⁹ James supports the view, instead, that the funeral procession should start at the gates of the cemetery, rather than from the home of the deceased. This attitude was shared among the generality of burial reformers who 'disallowed walking funerals and Sunday funerals, the only day when working-class families and friends could gather to bury their dead', as Hotz has pointed out.¹⁹⁰

Above all, it was John Loudon's attitude to death as a matter for *this* world and his insistence on the decomposition of the body which most disturbed James. The weight of 'medical' evidence might undermine the belief held by James and followers of the established church in the resurrection and the sanctity of the body as 'the abode of the Holy Spirit, and [...] a vessel made for eternity'.¹⁹¹ It was a belief in the resurrection that underpinned the demand for consecrated ground, as, if the Christian is to rise again, s/he will need to be on ground that has been blessed by God. Hence, the presence of consecrated and unconsecrated ground in cemeteries and the divisions of religious denominations within them.

James argues that cemeteries in Britain should be run by the Anglican Church, and that they would tolerate anybody buried there, even those 'who have entered her walls the first time as a corpse'.¹⁹² He is opposed to the 'fripperies and fridigities' of Père Lachaise, for example, principally because it is a secular construction,

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁸⁷ He also included stand-alone engravings of these forms of transport, *C&C*, p. 50 and p. 120.

¹⁸⁸ *C&C*, p. 51.

¹⁸⁹ *QR*, 73 (March 1844), 438–77 (454).

¹⁹⁰ Hotz, *Literary Remains*, p. 25.

¹⁹¹ *QR*, 73 (March 1844), 438–77 (442).

¹⁹² Ibid., 449.

outside church jurisdiction.¹⁹³ In contrast to Père Lachaise, all ground in cemeteries should be consecrated in order to prevent alternative funeral practices:

In consecrated ground they are not allowed to introduce whatever manner of service or ceremony their own unrestricted fancies may devise – a regulation which [...] has now been rendered absolutely necessary by the mummeries attempted of late years by bodies, unconnected with the ‘four denominations’ – Oddfellows and Independent Brethren of the more innocent kind – Chartists, Socialists, and the like, of the more pernicious.¹⁹⁴

Referring to the funerals recorded by the radical press, James is anxious to contain any signs of difference as they pose a threat to the order of the established church and the social hierarchy it helps to maintain. Dissenters, he suggests, should either accept conditions of Anglican cemeteries or have their own separate burial grounds. James’s vision then, is not an inclusive one, but rather excludes those who hold different beliefs from his own. Within the framework of the *Quarterly Review*, which was dependent on sectarian interest for its sales, his bigotry is presented as reasoned assessment.

Alternative Vision

The final engraving of *Cemeteries and Churchyards* (not shown) portrays a ‘hand-bier’ by an open grave. It reminds readers that the deprivation of the labouring poor, whose funerary transport is the hand-bier, constitutes the greatest threat to the stability of society as a whole. Despite John Loudon’s influence in some areas of cemetery planning, however, the needs of the poor remained unanswered. Evergreens did become synonymous with cemetery design because *Cemeteries and Churchyards* was the only publication available at 1850 when the Metropolitan Interments Act gave a Board of Health (the state) the power to establish further cemeteries in preference to the church. With the large-scale, formal, 200-acre cemetery at Woking of 1852, whereby the transport of corpses by railway was regulated, an industrial-scale cemetery such as he had outlined (and Chadwick had favoured) was fully realised. However, the Metropolitan Interments Act enshrined the continued influence of the church on the layout of cemeteries as the railway had two separate platforms, one for all denominations and the other for Anglicans.

All three of John Loudon’s designs for cemeteries were the result of a new aesthetic, the Gardenesque, which was driven by science and arrived at partly through the look of the oriental cemetery and the secular architecture of the Renaissance. His ‘nice calculations’ are inseparable from a distinctive reformist vision of society. The core value of property ownership built into the individual plots and monuments of the successful London cemeteries and embodied in

¹⁹³ Ibid., 447.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 449.

the picturesque interpretation of the pleasure ground, was not reflected in the communal urban ethos of John Loudon's predominantly rectangular grids. The generally negative reaction of his clients to his designs, and the disapproval of James in the *Quarterly Review*, reflect their assumption of cultural authority either as Anglicans or as owners of property, or both. The sheer weight of the hostility of the Anglican and Tory establishment above all, is as great in relation to John Loudon's discourse on cemeteries as it had been over his earlier text on the education of gardeners. It constituted part of a wider argument for the organisation of society within a secular framework to be developed at the expense of already existing frameworks of the Anglican Church and landownership. James makes the connection: 'Any attempt on the part of the government to devote public money to an object trenching upon religion, will be met with the same difficulties and outcry that assailed them on the question of factory education'.¹⁹⁵ John Loudon's ideas concerning cemeteries then, which he disseminated through his publications as well as his design practice, were part of a broader conflict concerning control by church and state over the hearts and minds (and bodies) of the poor.

Through print media and landscape design John Loudon sought to cleanse urban spaces (as with botany) and make them accessible, enlightening and socially cohesive. The Gardenesque which he developed in the *Arboretum* and the *Gardener's Magazine* as well as in his designs for cemeteries featured in *Cemeteries and Churchyards* represented a new aesthetic for the modern world based on scientific principles unfettered by history and ownership of property. The practice of the Gardenesque on the page promoted the professional status of women and of the graphic arts. The promotion of 'public' parks and gardens coincided with increasing Chartist protest in Britain's cities, and constituted, perhaps, sectarian interest to divert working-class interests away from politics. It might be that his work provided the greatest pleasure for his own particular social group, as he offered readers and park visitors an alternative urban culture set in green shade. The variety of forms of publication, however, ensured that his ideas had the widest possible circulation.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 452.

Chapter 5

Domestic Discourse: John Loudon, Periodicals for Women and the Book Manufactory

I have demonstrated that through a range of forms of publication, John Loudon developed the notion of gardens in the public sphere as national projects to which all should have access. Gardens in the private sphere and their contribution ‘to our ideas of happiness’ will be the focus of the first part of this chapter.¹ In the *Gardener’s Magazine*, John Loudon argues that gardens of essential labour for the poor and gardens of labour and leisure for the middle classes will both be of benefit to the polis. Middle-class gardens are a primary element of the discourse of the *Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion*, which was sold serially (like the *Arboretum*) over a two-year period, before the ‘complete’ bound volume was published in 1838.² In contrast to the *Arboretum* and the *Gardener’s Magazine*, the *Suburban Gardener* addresses a mainly female audience.

I suggest that John Loudon’s principal legacy for periodicals for women was through women’s participation as both consumers and producers of public scientific and aesthetic discourse. Historically, both John Loudon and Jane Webb Loudon have been seen as leading proponents of domestic ideology as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have argued (1987).³ Since then, Heath Schenker, with reference to post-Habermasian theory, has modified this representation in her essay ‘Women, Gardens and the English Middle Class in the Early Nineteenth Century’ (2002). If we take the view that the forms of the Loudons’ serials that addressed female audiences were modelled on expectations of their competencies, which produce ‘the space of their social reception much more than they are produced by already concretised divisions’, a more nuanced assessment can be made.⁴

In the final part of this chapter, I suggest that the Book Manufactory of Bayswater exemplifies the participation of women, as *producers*, in the publishing business. The contribution of John Loudon’s sisters Jane and Mary Loudon is considered in relation to the role of women in the ‘subsidiary’ aspects of publishing as engravers, illustrators and translators. The contribution of Jane Webb Loudon will be the subject of Chapter 6.

¹ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (1).

² *The Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion* (London: printed for the Author, sold by Longman, 1838). Hereafter, *Suburban Gardener* in text; *SG* in brackets and footnotes.

³ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes* (1987).

⁴ Roger Chartier, ‘Labourers and Voyagers’, p. 93.

Gardens for the Poor

The last two words of the subtitle of the *Gardener's Magazine – and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement* – suggest a better economic and aesthetic management of matters to do with the 'household, home, family' (*SOED*). When the *Magazine* started, John Loudon indicated that such improvements in 'domestic economy', particularly in relation to the working poor (the 'operative classes of society') would be discussed.⁵ Four years later, in April 1830, a number of articles appeared in the 'Original Communications' department of the *Magazine* setting out the most effective methods for cottage husbandry.⁶ Through a competition similar to that set up to establish garden libraries, John Loudon involved reader/gardeners as correspondents and used his editorial powers to activate practical and national change. The incorporation of readers' contributions into the main body of the *Magazine* was, as we have seen, common amongst cheaper scientific and some liberal literary magazines which were unable to pay their contributors.⁷ The 'Prize Essays', which included schemes for crop rotation, monthly garden calendars and a table showing the number of hours worked by the labourer against his expenses and his savings, were collected with his introductory article and published by John Loudon as a separate pamphlet in the same year (1830), and under the auspices of the SDUK in 1840.⁸ They also served as publicity for his forthcoming *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture*, which was not completed until 1833.⁹ Once again, he managed to circulate the same material in different forms, demonstrating his economy of print.

This pamphlet was one of several published by John Loudon over the course of his working life, following 'Remarks on the Benefits which would Result to

⁵ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (8).

⁶ These included John Loudon's introductory article 'On Cottage Husbandry and Architecture, chiefly with reference to certain Prize Essays received on Cottage Gardening, and to projected Encyclopaedias on these subjects', *GM*, 6 (April 1830), 139–67; 'On the Extent and Culture of Cottage Gardens, with and without Cows, and on Brewing, Baking, and other Points of the Husbandry of the Cottager', by 'A Practical Gardener', *GM*, 6 (April 1830), 167–85; 'On the Extent and Culture of Cottage Gardens, the live Stock of the Cottager and various Points of Cottage Economy', by 'J.P.', *GM*, 6 (April 1830), 185–98; 'An Essay on Cottage Gardens with reference to the Prize Question in the *Gardener's Magazine*', by 'The Cottarman's Friend', *GM*, 6 (April 1830), 198–208.

⁷ These included the *Mechanics' Magazine*, the *Floricultural Cabinet* and the *Monthly Repository*, see Ch. 2.

⁸ *A Manual of Cottage Gardening, Husbandry and Architecture* (London: printed for the Author, sold by Mr Charlwood, 1830); *The Cottager's Manual of Husbandry, Architecture, Domestic Economy, and Gardening* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1840).

⁹ This project, like the *Arboretum*, changed in its anticipated form. Originally advertised as two separate encyclopaedias, it was sold serially from 1832–33. The engravings from John Loudon's article were incorporated into the completed single encyclopaedia (1, ch.1).

Gardening and Gardeners, from the Establishment of Garden Libraries' (1827) and 'Parochial Institutions; or an Outline of a Plan for a National Educational Establishment' (1829). The practice looks back, partly perhaps, to traditions of 'Protestant polemic since the Reformation' observed by Secord.¹⁰ It may also have been a secular reaction against the long-established religious tracts of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). Pamphlets were generally cheap and provided an effective means of disseminating information to the poor. Their forms expanded in the 1820s with the beginnings of the industrialisation of the production of print and were exploited by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), which reissued the Loudon's *Manual of Cottage Gardening* 10 years later. The higher price, however, of Loudon's original pamphlet (or booklet), at 1.6d. or 2s. (with linen boards), which contained expensive wood engravings of designs for cottages, plans and tabular information, addressed instead those seen as responsible for the poor.

The arguments for the benefits of cottage gardens were not new and had circulated in serial form nine years earlier in 1821. William Cobbett's *Cottage Economy* had originally sold in monthly numbers at 3d., the collection of six plus the introduction were published as a single, bound, pocket-size (10 x 18 cm) volume in 1822. Cobbett (1763–1835) had suggested that the cottage garden or 'a very small piece of ground' could provide food and education for the labourer and his 'considerable family'. Moreover, since cottage husbandry was a useful training for life, it might give 'the best chance of leading happy lives' to the children of labourers.¹¹ In contrast, John Loudon argued in favour of education through the printed word and the universal need for literacy, but he agreed with Cobbett that gardens for the poor could serve the basic needs of a family with the maintenance and cultivation of 'pigs and poultry, with vegetables, potatoes, and faggots for his oven', and 'fuel, barley for his malt, and the keep of a cow'.¹² Such a garden would be maintained, he suggests, by the 'labour of any able-bodied man with the occasional assistance of his wife and children, in hours which would be otherwise spent unproductively, or perhaps viciously'.¹³ Both he and Cobbett are of the opinion that the garden might confine and direct male labour towards productive occupations.

The idea of a productive garden in which the poor would labour for themselves was an element of Poor Law Reform discourse, but one problem was land distribution. John Loudon hoped that landowners would willingly give up their land (out of their 'humanity').¹⁴ A solution was put forward soon after his

¹⁰ James Secord, p. 136.

¹¹ Cobbett, pp. 8–9.

¹² *GM*, 6 (April 1830), 139–67 (142).

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ See Loudon, *GM*, 6 (April 1830), 139–67 (166). He also suggests that the poor who 'occupied land' are less likely to be dependent on the poor rates (*ibid.*, 141).

intervention in the 'Quarterly Report of the Sussex Association' in August 1831.¹⁵ The signatories, who included 'Noblemen and Gentlemen' and a number of MPs, were clear about the benefits to the landowning classes. If the 'peasant' could sell 'at least a *portion* of labour to himself' on a plot rented from landowners, parish responsibilities for the destitute would be reduced and the loss of land would be compensated by the reduction in poor rates.

John Loudon was more radical, however, in his demand that the poor should have permanent rights:

But we do presume to recommend, without any exception, that no cottage should be built without a certain quantity of land being attached to it unalienably; and that every cottage now existing, and without land, [...] have, without delay, as much land added and unalienably attached as makes up the quantity alluded to. We repeat, that, wherever it is deemed proper that a cottage exist at all, we recommend, without hesitation and without exception, that land be attached to it.¹⁶

Robert Owen calculated that within a cooperative community, from ½ to 1½ acres of land should be sufficient for each individual to cultivate the amount of food needed.¹⁷ His large-size (19 x 25 cm) pamphlet, 'Report to the County of Lanark' (Scotland, 1821, and London, 1832), addressed to the governing classes, appeared at the same time as Cobbet's *Domestic Economy*. Thomas Spence, who became a radical London bookseller, disseminated his Land Plan reforms in a number of pamphlets towards the end of the eighteenth century. He and his early-nineteenth-century followers argued that the poor had rights to land and that it was a question of taking back from the wealthy what had originally been shared amongst the people. Four years after the cottage-garden articles were first published, the idea of cottage gardens or allotments was 'overwhelmingly desired' by labourers interviewed for the Poor Law Report of 1834 but was not written into the resulting legislation.¹⁸

Taste and Distribution of Labour

The benefits of an improved physical environment derived from associationism and its emphasis on the significance of the body in determining how we think.

¹⁵ 'The Quarterly Report of the Sussex Association for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes' (Lindfield: C. Greene, August 1831), p. 4.

¹⁶ *GM*, 6 (April 1830), 139–67 (140).

¹⁷ Owen, 'A Report to the County of Lanark of a Plan for Relieving Public Distress and Removing Discontent, by Giving Permanent, Productive Employment to the Poor and Working Classes' (Glasgow: printed by the University Press, for Wardlaw and Cunningham, 1821), p. 26.

¹⁸ Chadwick, who was one of those responsible for the Poor Law Act, was opposed to the idea as he believed it would reduce productivity for the employer (see Finer, pp. 86–7).

Developed by David Hartley, its ideas altered the perception of the relationship between mind, body and the physical world and had been quoted by John Loudon in an early publication for wealthy readers, *A Treatise on Forming, Improving, and Managing Country Residences* (1806).¹⁹ The idea that our thoughts are affected through the body by the physical environment is an important factor in John Loudon's conclusion (in 1830) that 'the social affections and local attachments thereby produced' of a comfortable home with land attached will render the cottager 'a better member of society'.²⁰ The current 'wretched habitations'²¹ for the majority of the rural poor, he argues, are urgently in need of improvement:

We think labourers, as part of the human family, deserve something better, and we wish to raise their taste, and give them some idea of the natural rights of man. There is abundance of land, of materials, and of labour, in Great Britain, for transforming every two-roomed hut into such cottages as we have described [...]. We do not, therefore, expect much, till a generation arises sufficiently enlightened to know their natural rights, and sufficiently skilful and energetic to assert them, and to cooperate in such a way as to obtain them. All useful knowledge, and all useful food, lodging and clothing, are surely destined to be common to all men.²²

He portrays society as a 'human family' and 'taste' as part of being human, in this secular account. A raised level of taste, he implies, is one of the 'natural rights of man'. 'Taste' or high culture, which had generally been the exclusive prerogative of the very wealthy, should, he argues, be shared by the poor and the middle classes. To acquire it they will need skills and energy. This energising effect of taste as the product of desire is an important one, as Isobel Armstrong has suggested in *Victorian Glassworlds*.²³ Its emancipatory potential is premised on the certainty that it will 'surely' be shared by all men. Taste does, however, have social implications as the labourer who 'chooses' to kill himself with three relatively expensive commodities, 'spirits, ale or tea', has 'bad taste'.²⁴ The development of good taste might be the means through which the labourer may develop greater autonomy and control over his own life to the benefit of society as a whole.

¹⁹ 'All these sentiments, emotions, or expressions may be traced to the 'association of ideas' followed by this footnote: 'See this beautifully explained by Hartley in *Observations on Man*, vol 1 chapters 1 and 2' (*Treatise* [...] 1, p. 36).

²⁰ *GM*, 6 (April 1830), 139–67 (141).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 166.

²² *Ibid.*, 166–7.

²³ See Armstrong, pp. 167–202.

²⁴ This was Loudon's response to comments in one of the 'Prize' essays by 'A Practical Gardener' that the poor should not be allowed these luxuries, *GM*, 6 (April 1830), 167–85 (171). Tea, like ale and spirits, was still a relatively expensive commodity as the monopoly of the East India Company to import tea was not withdrawn until 1833.

John Loudon argued that the acquisition of taste is a means to both status and power, and that if the less wealthy (including women) can gain an aesthetic voice this will benefit society as a whole. The idea that ‘taste’ will benefit the nation had been suggested by Joshua Reynolds in his Royal Academy lectures and was further developed by Matthew Arnold (1822–1880) in *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), some 25 years after John Loudon’s death. This fits with the recent arguments of Jonathan Rose on the value of an authentic liberal education and currently survives in state subsidies of culture, exemplified by free or low-cost admission into museums, galleries and parks.

Taste and possession are closely connected. Property, gardens, furnishings and plants are priced and ordered in John Loudon publications. The tensions that might arise are obfuscated through the call to universal rights. Pierre Bourdieu has argued in *Distinction* (1979), the acquisition of an aesthetic outlook perpetuates class divisions because it functions to display prestige and to oppress the poor through disregard of poor culture, legitimising social difference. With an increased focus, however, on the variety of ways in which texts might be received or read over the last 30 years (from Darnton, and Chartier, to Brake, Rose, King and Plunkett, and William St Clair, amongst others), Bourdieu’s notion of a dominant ‘high’ culture has been questioned. A more nuanced picture is emerging of a plurality of cultures which feed into one another. In this wider context, John Loudon’s promotion of taste is potentially liberating.

The second point (see quotation above), concerns John Loudon’s call for ‘cooperation’ between labourers in order to assert and ‘obtain’ their rights. In practice his plans were less liberating than his rhetoric might suggest. In Chapter 1 I pointed out that he had been the agent of the transformation of farming practices on his farm in Great Tew, where tenants who would not conform to his ideas had been removed. Here, too, the ‘cooperation’ which he discusses must be practised in the labourer’s spare time: ‘Six persons viz., a bricklayer or mason, a carpenter, a plasterer, and a slater or thatcher, and two labourers, might join together and construct such a cottage at their leisure hours and on Sundays’.²⁵ John Loudon’s plan for the exchanging of ‘labour for labour’ and of materials might be the way to achieve improved living conditions for the working poor throughout the country, but he ensures that it should not reduce productivity for their employers.

Family

The promotion of cottage gardens is closely linked with the idea of the family as a self-contained group and the potential benefits to its members, particularly in the experience of happiness. Cobbett insists, ‘I lay it down as a maxim, that, for a family to be happy, they must be well supplied with *food and raiment*’ and that a sufficiency of ‘food and raiment and lodging’, are ‘necessary to health and

²⁵ *GM*, 6 (April 1830), 139–67 (166).

decency'.²⁶ The nation, he suggests, is constituted by the '*economy*' of all families which in turn determines national character. The idea of family as a microcosm of the nation, current by 1822, has implications for middle-class women, as their responsibilities are focused increasingly inwards on the home.

For John Loudon, similar principles applied. The first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* appeared in 1822, the same year that Cobbett's *Cottage Economy* was issued (in its 'completed' form). John Loudon's utilitarian approach to marriage and children (not shared by Cobbett) was revealed in his entry on the 'Education of Gardeners' in the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*:

But the use of a wife to a gardener, and to every man who is not independent, ought to be chiefly as the operative partner in his domestic establishment; to prepare his food, and keep in order his lodgings and clothes. If in addition to these duties, she has cultivated or will cultivate her mind so as to become interesting as a companion, so much the better; and if the parties further think that they can attain their object of independence, and rear one or two children let them do so. Universal sources of happiness should never be rejected, when they can be retained.²⁷

John Loudon invokes marriage as a contract of mutual interest in which the wife is as an 'operative partner', a term which suggests parity of status and a business in which both parties work. The principal duty of the wife is to maintain order in the 'domestic establishment', the home, the private sphere. Both divine and sentimental considerations of marriage maintained by the church and widely held by the press in the period, are entirely absent; secular 'happiness' is offered instead. That the wife might be an intellectual equal would be a bonus, but is not essential. Whether wife would become mother, should be a joint decision based on financial circumstances – with the implication that if the couple are poverty-stricken they should not have children at all. We shall see that this approach, suggested by John Loudon before his marriage in 1830, was relevant to his life in terms of reproduction of children, but not in terms of the strict separation of the public and private spheres.

Gardens for the Middle Classes

To live outside the town or city, but to enjoy its benefits, had been a privilege enjoyed by the aristocracy. An idea derived from metropolitan culture, suburban life was perceived as a supplement to urban life, rather than a simple escape from it, without the real risks to health of the city due to lack of sanitation. John Loudon naturalises the idea of a middle-class home in the introduction to the *Suburban Gardener* with the suggestion that 'most people' feel the 'enlivening effects of

²⁶ Cobbett, pp. 2–3.

²⁷ 'The Education of Gardeners', p. 1337.

finding ourselves unpent-up by buildings, and in comparatively unlimited space'.²⁸ The minimum income he recommends for its realisation was from £200–£300 a year, which corresponds to the amount agreed by most historians as the point of entry to middle-class life for the 'average family'.²⁹ It is reasonable to conclude that the *Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion* is intended for a middle-class reading audience, unlike the *Gardener's Magazine* with its broader audience of professional and amateur gardeners ranging from philanthropists to working gardeners.

The ideal of the suburb may have had ancient origins, but was current in fiction and non-fiction of the period. The *Suburban Gardener* aims to prove 'that a suburban residence, with a very small portion of land attached, will contain all that is essential to happiness', for 'no man in this world, however high may be his rank, great his wealth, powerful his genius, or extensive his acquirements, can ever attain more than health, enjoyment, and respect'.³⁰ This secular summary of the benefits of the suburb is not dissimilar to a fictional representation in the concluding chapter of Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* (1837), published serially at 1s. per part around the same time as the *Suburban Gardener*.³¹ Mr Pickwick retires to Dulwich, a 'quiet pretty neighbourhood in the vicinity of London'.³² Here he enjoys relative health, given his old age, and good views 'with a large cheerful window opening upon a pleasant lawn and commanding a pretty landscape'.³³ He also enjoys the respect of his neighbours: 'He is known by all the poor people about, who never fail to take their hats off as he passes, with great respect; the children idolise him, and so indeed does the whole neighbourhood'.³⁴ In contrast to the deference shown to those born into the families of the landed gentry, John Loudon and Dickens suggest that respect has to be earned by suburban dwellers.

Dickens concludes *Pickwick Papers* with the idea of the garden as the secular locus of the family. Although Pickwick is elderly by the time he moves to the suburbs, members of his surrogate family are married from his new home (Emily Wardle to Mr Snodgrass), and the presence of Weller's 'two sturdy little boys' at the garden gate, confirm it as a space in which family is celebrated.³⁵ The garden

²⁸ *SG*, p. 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9. See Davidoff and Hall, p. 23; Schenker, 'Women, Gardens and the English Middle Class', p. 343. St Clair suggests a standard of £5 per week (£260 a year) as a 'reasonable, but not extravagant income for members of the upper- or upper-middle classes', based on *Navy Lists* for 1816 and later (p. 194).

³⁰ *SG*, p. 8.

³¹ The *Suburban Gardener* ran from June 1837 to August 1838. *Pickwick Papers* ran from March 1836 to October 1837.

³² Dickens, *The Pickwick Papers*, (ed.) James Kinsley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 714.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 716.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 719.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 718.

as domestic utopia also forms part of John Loudon's introduction to the *Suburban Gardener* and serves to persuade readers of its value:

What pleasure have not children in applying their little green watering-pans to plants in pots, or pouring water in at the roots of favourite flowers in borders? And what can be more rational than the satisfaction which the grown up amateur, or master of the house, enjoys, when he returns from the city to his garden in the summer evenings, and applies the syringe to his wall trees, with refreshing enjoyment to himself, and the plants, and to the delight of his children, who may be watching his operations? What can be more refreshing than, in a warm summer's evening, to hear, while sitting in a cool parlour, with the windows open, or in a summer-house, the showering of the water by the syringe upon the leaves of the vines or fig trees trained under the adjoining veranda, or upon the orange trees and camellias, or other exotic shrubs, planted in the conservatory connected with it? What more delightful than to see the master or the mistress of a small garden or pleasure-ground, with all the boys and girls, the maids, and, in short, all the strength of the house, carrying pots and pails of water to different parts of the garden; and to see the refreshment produced to the soil and plants by the application of the watering-pan and the syringe? ³⁶

The representation of the pleasures of children in the garden and the activities and feelings of the father are followed by series of rhetorical questions. These prioritise the cleansing power of water over the dirt of the soil (evoking baptism) and emphasise hygiene and cleanliness, suggesting that woman readers are being addressed. The contrast of water and heat, the presence of exotic plants and the enclosure of the suburban garden recall the gardens of the desert of Judaeo-Christian tradition, the 'Song of Solomon' in which the garden can be read as a metaphor for the body of a woman: 'A garden inclosed *is* my sister, *my* spouse; a spring shut up a fountain sealed. [...] Thy plants *are* an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits [...]. A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon'. ³⁷ The 'master of the house' is presented, in contrast, as an outsider a 'grown up amateur', infantilised perhaps, who delights in his children, but who performs a role in the garden.

The exotic plants of the suburban garden, 'orange trees' and 'camellias' for example, which are traded from distant countries, indicate the extent to which the garden and ideas of domesticity are based on commodities of empire. Moreover, the recently invented, 'syringe' (hose), and the conservatory, above all, constructed out of new materials of glass and steel, connect the suburban garden to recent industrial processes. Connections between women readers and consumerism are explicitly made as the costs of these products and where to buy them are mentioned throughout the pages of the *Suburban Gardener* (as for the *Gardener's Magazine*).

³⁶ SG, p. 3.

³⁷ 'Song of Solomon' 4, 12–15.

John Loudon has been called a 'visionary materialist' partly because of the way in which his discourse sanctified leisure.³⁸ Secular happiness through conspicuous consumption is promised, but work is an essential element: 'it is not only a condition of our nature, that in order to secure health and cheerfulness we must labour; but we must also produce something useful and agreeable'.³⁹ I agree with Margaret Beetham, who has argued in her history of women's magazines that 'the discourse of leisure therefore existed as an alternative to that of morality in defining the domestic space'.⁴⁰ I suggest, however, that John Loudon integrates morality with leisure because he implies that man's labour for pleasure might offer an alternative to labouring for God. Christian values or Scottish Presbyterianism have their place in his secular world through the emphasis on labour in all domestic gardens. In this way he anticipates the 'requirement of abstention from productive work' that takes place once an individual possesses enough wealth, described by Thorstein Veblen, in his *Theory of the Leisure Class* of 1899, but situates it within a moral framework.⁴¹

The gardenesque pleasures of the suburb demand labour from the occupiers in a way that is distinct from the physical labour of the cottage garden for essential food and fuel. Labour in the suburban garden contributes to formal education, reading, writing and scientific knowledge and will keep the family busy throughout the year. It follows that suburban gardens as spaces in which plants are nurtured and the family educated will confer major benefits on the polis:

We might enlarge, here, on the great advantages, which would result from bringing up children with a taste for garden pursuits and natural history; and the vast influence which this is calculated to have on their future happiness, and on the welfare of society by enabling them instead of passing their leisure hours in a manner degrading to human nature, to interest themselves in recreations both agreeable and useful.⁴²

Just as the cottage garden kept the labourer and his family in productive occupations, so the suburban garden occupied middle-class families. The Gardenesque helped middle-class families in the transition to a suburban lifestyle. Schenker concludes that as 'the middle-class garden became a place where habitus was forged for future generations, children played and learned vital lessons in the garden classroom'.⁴³

One of those 'vital lessons' was the importance of labour and to derive satisfaction from it. John Loudon suggests that however basic or trivial the task,

³⁸ Armstrong, p. 170.

³⁹ SG, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine* (London: Routledge, 1996) p. 30.

⁴¹ Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970), p. 41.

⁴² SG, p. 8.

⁴³ Schenker, 'Women, Gardens and the English Middle Class', p. 359.

if you have the idea and realise it, you will feel satisfied. A man may enjoy his family, friends and books, but a garden can be altered 'with his own hands' when he feels like it and without much expense:

It is this which gives the charm of creation, and makes a thing essentially one's own. Every one must have felt the infinitely greater pleasure which is enjoyed from the contemplation of what we have planned and executed ourselves, to what can be experienced by seeing the finest works belonging to, and planned by, another. Our own work is endeared to us by the difficulties we have met with and conquered at every step: every step has, indeed, its history, and recalls a train of interesting recollections connected with it.⁴⁴

The garden (like the conservatory), as Armstrong has observed, offers an 'alternative imagined time' of the fruition of labour while engaged in the present.⁴⁵ When the task is completed and the labourer contemplates the result, he or she has a meaningful past to look back to. The garden, then, provides opportunities for experience that combine leisure and labour leading to self-expression, and a sense of creativity and craftsmanship. The value of such experience might be assumed in the twenty-first century, but was, perhaps, not written into the domestic life of the middle classes in the early nineteenth century. Such experience may not have been enjoyed by the potential suburban dwellers in their paid employment as clerks in business or as assistants in manufactories and workshops, nor by the wealthier city worker until he returns to his garden.⁴⁶

John Loudon anticipates Ruskin's writing on artisan craftsmen, for whom the integrity of their work in the public sphere of architecture is a reflection of their own intelligence and autonomy. Control over the object produced from the planning stage to completion is also the antithesis of the sense of alienation, the concept developed by Marx and Engels in the following decades, which is the result of capitalist work practice. They argued that a change in the running of the capitalist economy would be the solution. John Loudon suggests, in contrast, that salvation lies within the private sphere of garden and family. The garden, however, was a shared space for the community of family and friends. The sense of possession implied by 'that he can call his own' is not entirely based on property and keeping others out. Indeed, what makes something 'essentially one's own' is not so much to do with ownership but with one's own purposeful labour, which both men and women may practise in the garden.

⁴⁴ *SG*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Armstrong, p. 183. She emphasises the emancipatory possibilities of the conservatory promoted by John Loudon as 'holding out the possibility of an altered alternative world' (p. 182).

⁴⁶ *SG*, p. 26.

Gardens for Women

The *Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion* was intended for a middle-class audience that included clergymen and teachers.⁴⁷ The word ‘*Companion*’, with its suggestion of the genteel servant, and the subtitle *More Particularly for the Use of Ladies*, clearly indicate that a mainly female audience was being addressed.⁴⁸ John Loudon had long been directing his publications towards a female readership. In his introduction to the *Gardener’s Magazine* of 1826, he suggested that ‘the care of a garden is a source of agreeable domestic recreation, and especially to the female sex’.⁴⁹ One of the objects of his *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* completed in 1833, after the improvement of the dwellings of ‘the great mass of society’ and the dissemination of knowledge of architectural styles, was to enable ‘young persons, especially ladies, to educate themselves in Architecture as an elegant art’.⁵⁰ Moreover, both the *Architectural Magazine* (1834–39) and the *Arboretum* were publicised (alongside the *Suburban Gardener*) through reviews in magazines intended for women readers exemplified by the *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic*, and *Lady’s Magazine and Museum* (1838–47).⁵¹ Apart from the *Suburban Gardener*, all the publications mentioned above were aimed principally at the men who practised these occupations for money and were part of a movement to confirm their professional status. The inclusion of women as part of that readership shows John Loudon transferring to women aesthetic and technical or scientific knowledge formerly the privilege of the gentleman connoisseur and/or the working man.

John Loudon was the publisher (‘printed for the Author’) of the *Suburban Gardener* amongst a number of other publications, including *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (sold serially from 1832 to 1833) and the *Arboretum* (as we have seen in the previous chapter). Jane Webb Loudon had been his amanuensis for both, so it seems reasonable to conclude that she participated in the production of the *Suburban Gardener*.⁵² She reports that he was ‘tempted’ to embark on the *Arboretum* because of the earlier success of his *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture*.⁵³ The pragmatic idea of a less ambitious publication covering similar ground to the architectural *Encyclopaedia* that

⁴⁷ See *SG*, p 7.

⁴⁸ *SG*, frontispiece.

⁴⁹ *GM*, 1 (1826), 1–9 (1).

⁵⁰ *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture*, p. 1.

⁵¹ The *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic*, and the *Lady’s Magazine and Museum*, 12 (March 1838), 309–10; 13 (August 1838), 195–204.

⁵² She does not mention her participation in its production.

⁵³ Webb Loudon claims that it was ‘the first work he ever published on his own account’, ‘Life of John Loudon’, p. xxxviii. However, ‘Longman’, rather than ‘Printed for the Author’ appears on the frontispiece of *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (1833), along with the names of other publishers from all over the world which suggests that Longman et al. were the distributors.

focused on female readers may have been hers. Moreover, the sale of the cheaper (to produce and buy), 'complete' *Suburban Gardener*, price 20s. in August 1838 a month after the £10 *Arboretum*, may have been intended to recoup some of the losses of the latter. The financial pressures to produce a profitable publication were enormous.

From June 1837 to August 1838, the *Suburban Gardener* was sold as a 1s. monthly. In comparison with the other serials in production at this time, including the 1s. 6d. *Gardener's Magazine*, the 2s. *Architectural Magazine* and *Magazine of Natural History* and the 2s. 6d. *Arboretum*, the low price of the *Suburban Gardener* suggests the lack of economic power of its niche audience of mainly female readers. It matched, however, the price of several monthly periodicals intended specifically for women including the *Christian Lady's Magazine* (1834–1849), which focused on women's role as educators, as well as the secular *Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance* (1832–47),⁵⁴ the *Ladies' Gazette of Fashion* (1838–74) and the *London and Paris Ladies' Magazine of Fashion, Polite Literature, and Music* (1828–91), whose focus on fashion and fiction is indicated by their respective titles. My argument is that through the serial publication of the *Suburban Garden and Villa Companion* at a relatively low price, John Loudon provided information on the science and aesthetics of home and garden, hitherto unavailable in periodicals for women. In this way he developed the role of women as producers for the home as well as extending the readership for his publications.

Appeal to Female Readers

The prioritising of the garden as a clean domestic utopia in the introduction to the *Suburban Gardener* was just one of the rhetorical devices deployed by John Loudon to engage women readers. The suggestion that she need not let her ignorance of science or of rural matters deter her from developing a garden was another:

Let not the reader be alarmed, however, lest we should go into minute scientific details, only capable of being understood by the botanist or chemist, or by the professional gardener: so far from contemplating this, our intention is to confine ourselves to the simplest and most important features; to treat every subject in such a manner as to be understood by those who have little knowledge of either gardening or country affairs; and, more especially, to adapt it to the instruction and amusement of ladies.⁵⁵

The representations of the female consumer here contrast with those of the predominantly male readers of the *Gardener's Magazine*, such as the 'botanist', the

⁵⁴ *Ladies' Cabinet* (with a different subtitle) continued until it was absorbed into other publications in 1852 (see Ch. 6).

⁵⁵ *SG*, pp. 1–2.

'chemist' and the 'professional gardener' who might be isolated in the country and in need of metropolitan scientific knowledge.⁵⁶ The woman reader of the *Suburban Gardener* is the product of urban culture and ignorant of 'country affairs'. She falls into the category of 'ladies', a broad term seen in the titles of contemporary magazines addressed to women. The category might include servants or working women who aspired to respectability (cf. the twenty-first-century readers of *Vogue* who might read the magazine but could never afford the clothes or the lifestyle) and 'polite' middle-class women. John Loudon figures himself as the pedagogue (as for the *Gardener's Magazine*) who will teach the basic principles. The high level of detail and technical content exemplified in the plans of the *Suburban Gardener*, however, belie this simple introduction, suggesting that he was, intentionally perhaps, misleading readers about the nature of the publication.

The comparison of the creation of a garden with the making of clothes in the introduction was another rhetorical device through which John Loudon engaged woman readers, as sewing was seen amongst the middle classes as women's work:⁵⁷

There is scarcely such a thing to be found as a lady who is not fond of flowers; but it is not saying too much, to affirm that there are very few ladies indeed who are competent to lay out a flower-garden; though the skill required to do so is within the capacity of every woman who can cut out, and put together, the different parts of female dress [...]. We venture to assert that there is not a mantuamaker or milliner, who understands her business, that might not, in a few hours, be taught to design flower-gardens with as much skill and taste as a professional landscape-gardener [...].

We think we can succeed in teaching ladies the beauty of consistency in architecture, furniture and finishing, as compared with inconsistency, by a comparative view of the furniture or dress of the house, with the dress of the person.⁵⁸

The design of flower-gardens could provide an alternative paid occupation to the two predominantly female and low-paid occupations of 'mantuamaker' and 'milliner' open to middle-class women.⁵⁹ However, the 'flower-garden' was just one of a number of elements that constituted the landscape of an estate, so women's potential as professional designers is limited. Once again figuring the writer/editor as pedagogue, John Loudon suggests that women's ignorance of the 'beauty of consistency' is the result of lack of education rather than biological inferiority, and can be corrected through his publication. The later reference (in the

⁵⁶ See *GM*, 1 (1826), 3.

⁵⁷ See Davidoff and Hall, p. 303.

⁵⁸ *SG*, pp. 6–7.

⁵⁹ Occupations open to 'a young woman of gentle birth' (Bea Howe, *Lady with Green Fingers: The Life of Jane Loudon* [London: Country Life, 1961], p. 32).

above quotation) to the 'dress of the person' is neutral, suggesting that the body of the middle-class man or woman is written into the 'dress' of home, and that the idea of domesticity is one of class as well as gender.

Women and Taste

Like the *Gardener's Magazine*, the *Suburban Gardener* contained a range of print media including plans and illustrations, but the emphasis on architecture of the first part (how to select a site, build a house or choose a suitable one, and how to furnish it) recalls his *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture*. John Loudon later admitted that a more accurate title for the *Suburban Gardener* would have been the '*Suburban Architect and Landscape-Gardener*'.⁶⁰ Such a title, with its suggestion of professionalism, however, might have excluded women readers. Aesthetic theory in relation to garden practice is briefly summarised, but the layout and maintenance of a range of gardens from the first- to the fourth-rate, an already existing classification for houses that John Loudon adapted to gardens, take up the majority of the pages of the *Suburban Gardener*.⁶¹ The range of size of garden from one perch (fourth-rate) to estates of up to 100 acres (first-rate) indicates the broad economic spectrum with which the reading audience might identify and emulate.⁶² A hierarchy of wealth is confirmed by classifying gardens into these categories, but John Loudon also identifies ways in which the elements which make up a first-rate garden might be adapted to a second- or third-rate one, through scientific knowledge, and, by an attitude of mind which he called 'taste'. An aesthetic outlook ceases to be the prerogative of leisure and is brought to bear on most aspects of daily life as 'the humblest physical art, may, to a certain extent, be also made an art of taste'.⁶³ The principle of the 'recognition of art' (an element of the Gardenesque) is developed in the *Suburban Gardener* but with greater emphasis on its domestic applications. John Loudon suggests that the principle is connected to every aspect of human development and that 'it is no less essential in the case of the fine arts, than those of common life'.⁶⁴ Once again the emancipatory potential of the idea of taste is indicated.

John Loudon suggested that through women's influence a wider reform of garden design might take place. The development of taste, however, extended beyond the garden and into the home:

⁶⁰ '*The Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion*', in 'Reviews', *GM*, 14 (Sept 1838), 432–4 (432).

⁶¹ Government regulations made to facilitate tax collection in order to prevent the spreading of fire. See *SG*, p. 36. Elliott suggests that 'it had an obvious affinity with what has been called Repton's "aesthetic of social illusionism"', p. 23.

⁶² 1 perch = 1/160 acre, or 30 square yards or 25.3 square metres.

⁶³ *SG*, p. 134.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

We anticipate, in particular, that it will afford a great source of enjoyment to ladies; and that it will tend to the improvement, as far as relates to matters of taste, not only of the gardens under their care, but of the architecture of their houses, and of the style and taste of the furniture and finishing of their interiors.⁶⁵

He promoted women of the middle classes, rather than elite gentlemen connoisseurs, as arbiters of taste. In extending the knowledge of taste to middle-class women and expanding their role as consumers and producers of home and garden, he raised their status and extended their areas of influence, through the family and outwards to the British nation and in all the countries with ‘temperate climates of both hemispheres’ where he hoped the *Suburban Gardener* would be circulated.⁶⁶

A Woman’s Garden

A number of the gardens discussed in the *Suburban Gardener* were managed by women, and the volume of illustrations that accompany the gardens of Mrs Marryat and Mrs Lawrence might indicate the female readership of this publication. Mrs Lawrence’s garden was featured in August 1838 in a review of the *Suburban Gardener* in a magazine that explicitly addressed a female audience – the *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic and Lady’s Magazine and Museum*.⁶⁷

The garden of Mrs Lawrence also featured in the *Gardener’s Magazine* of July 1838, however, suggesting that John Loudon was still keen to attract female readership to it at this date, as well as demonstrating economies of production.⁶⁸ Mrs Lawrence managed a ‘second-rate’ residence of 28 acres at Drayton Green, just outside London. A celebrity gardener, she had cultivated hundreds of species, variety and genera of plants, listed by John Loudon. He notes that she had received 53 medals from the Horticultural Society, whose shows had been opened to women since 1830, and provided women with a forum in which their achievements and knowledge were made public. The proportion of image to text in this article is considerably greater than that of the Cheshunt Cottage article (*GM*, 15 [Dec 1839], 633–74) discussed in Chapter 3.

One wood engraving features Mrs Lawrence’s house surrounded by greenery (Figure 5.1). The other engravings focus on garden objects apart from plants: containers (Figure 5.1), rustic arches, statues, fountains, the rockery and the greenhouse. John Loudon explains how a garden as desirable as Mrs Lawrence’s might be produced at considerably less cost with technical advice on how to construct a water feature from a ‘few small wooden cisterns’, for example, and

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

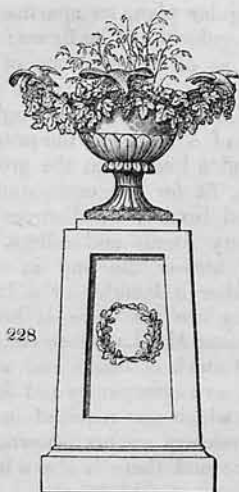
⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

⁶⁷ *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic, and Ladies’ Magazine and Museum*, 13 (Aug 1838), 201; other reviews, 12 (Jan 1838), 128–9 and (March 1838), 309–10.

⁶⁸ *SG*, pp. 574–90; ‘Descriptive Notice of the Villa of Mrs Lawrence’, *GM*, 14 (July 1838), 305–22.

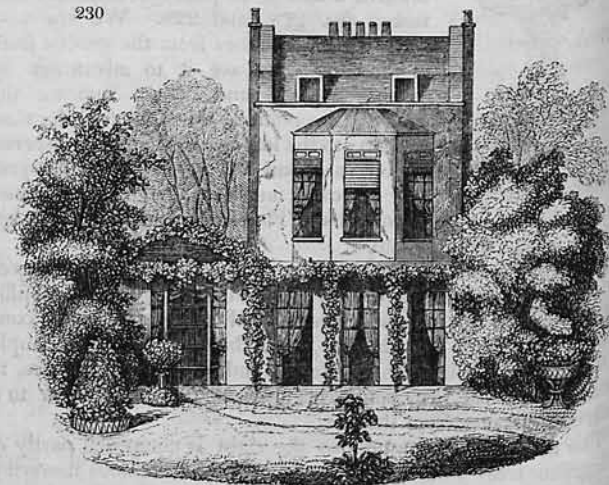
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azaleas. All these plantations and groups are treated in the picturesque manner; there being scarcely anything in these grounds, except the single plants, such as the standard roses and some rhododendrons and other shrubs, which can be considered as treated in the gardenesque style of culture.

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At 5, there is a fine specimen of double-blossomed furze, and two splendid vases on elevated pedestals; both combining to

Fig. 5.1

View of Mrs Lawrence's house and garden, container on pedestal, *The Suburban Gardener*, and *Villa Companion*, p. 580 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark B. 1. f. 4

the creation of a rockery out of old bricks. He suggests that statues be made of earthenware rather than of bronze, marble or stone, and that British ferns might be planted instead of American ones.⁶⁹ He advises that 'yet the humblest and most economical possessor of a villa residence of two acres may take a lesson from Mrs Lawrence's taste'.⁷⁰ His publications extend women's expertise and mastery of gardens to the public realm. He portrays the gardens of the wealthy as spaces of aspiration and consumption, which might be transformed by the reader into a space of production.

Men and women are portrayed in the engravings of gardens in both the *Gardener's Magazine* and the *Suburban Gardener*. As Schenker has suggested those in the latter represent the garden as a space for women and children in which men, if present, are engaged in courtship or domestic activities.⁷¹ However, in the article on Cheshunt Cottage from the *Gardener's Magazine*, two men are portrayed in the 'view [...] to the right' (Figure 3.6) discussing, perhaps, garden layout, not engaged with women or domesticity. The *Magazine* was intended for a predominantly male readership, and its garden illustrations are, to a degree, less focused on their domestic function. The two publications circulating for the same period between 1836 and 1838 then, allow for variation of representation of the garden in the private sphere in order to reach their different, if somewhat overlapping, niche audiences.

Domestic Economy

Domestic economy and domestic science were part of the discourse of the *Suburban Gardener*, and fitted in with the profile of female readership 'where the mistress of the house is her own housekeeper'.⁷² The scientific principles and the idea of productive labour that applied to gardening, John Loudon argued, were relevant to the running of the home. Architectural plans and details of the fourth- to the first-rate houses involved readers in the management of the home or family establishment. Advice is offered concerning the best site for the kitchen, scullery, dust-hole, larder, washhouse and laundry, and servant quarters. Elsewhere, advice is given on cooking garden produce: 'The flowers of all the gourds and pumpkins', for example, 'are delicious fried in butter; and the points of the young shoots, boiled, are equal to spinach in tenderness and in flavour'.⁷³

In general, however, readers with incomes of more than £300 a year might be responsible for the management of the household, but they did not cook or do the laundry. Much of the garden discourse is focused on aesthetics; whether a curved path will work in a rectangular fourth-rate garden or how to achieve

⁶⁹ *SG*, p. 590.

⁷⁰ *SG*, p. 587.

⁷¹ See Schenker, 'Women, Gardens and the English Middle Class', pp. 354–5.

⁷² *SG*, p. 85.

⁷³ *SG*, p. 196.

an 'interesting' view. An accompanying volume the *Suburban Horticulturalist*, a practical gardening guide, was published the following year.

'Domestic Economy' was included as a department in Robertson's *Mechanics' Magazine* (referred to in earlier chapters) in November 1823, which might suggest that the subject was accepted as part of artisan (masculine) culture in the 1820s. It was also one of the many subcategories that John Loudon listed within the 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' department in the early years of the *Gardener's Magazine* (1826–31). The contents listed for 1831 included 'To Preserve Fruit'; 'Method of keeping a Winter Stock of Apples'; 'To boil Potatoes'; 'Rheumatism'; 'Cooperation for cheaper Food, Lodging and Education'; 'Improved Clothes Pegs';⁷⁴ 'Box wood as a Substitute for Hops'; 'Receipt for making Grape Wine'; 'Wine from the common Bramble'; 'Receipt for making Tomato sauce' and 'Economical Fuel'.⁷⁵ Material detail of the domestic, ranging from food preparation to medical ailments, was in keeping with the broad economic strata and mixed gender of the *Magazine's* readership when it started (despite its high price). In 1832, the named category 'Domestic Economy' is dropped from the *Gardener's Magazine* and references to either cookery or laundry (apart from those that are included in the details of architectural plans) are very rare in the subsequent volumes I have seen.⁷⁶

The advent of a cheaper competitor in 1831, the *Horticultural Register*, more focused on matters of science and aesthetics directly related to gardening practice, may have obliged John Loudon to withdraw from domestic discourse that was too closely associated with women, domestic servants and the labouring poor. It might be that 'domestic economy' was a category that could be incorporated into the representation of the male consumer as amateur, landed-gentry reader and philanthropist (and was also inclusive of female readers), but not into that of the male reader as gardening professional. However, even without a named department, domestic economy in its broader sense included the cultivation of fruit and vegetables and was a significant component of the *Gardener's Magazine's* discourse. In this way the *Magazine* and other gardening magazines were intimately connected to the practice of domestic economy. All of which supports the suggestion of overlapping readerships.

John Loudon had intended to include cookery 'with a view to the improvement of the tables of labourers, gardeners and the middling classes' within the *Gardener's Magazine*, but I have found no evidence that he did so in subsequent volumes.⁷⁷ The suggestion and the failure to realise this idea may have been due to the appearance of the *Magazine of Domestic Economy* (1835–41).⁷⁸ Published by Orr in London (Chambers in Edinburgh) and the same size as the *Gardener's*

⁷⁴ *GM*, 7 (June 1831), 368.

⁷⁵ *GM*, 7 (Oct 1831), 698.

⁷⁶ The category 'Domestic Economy' does reappear in relation to single articles in the contents of the annual volumes of 1839 and 1841. Both focus on the *science* of domestic economy.

⁷⁷ 'Preface', *GM*, 11 (1835), unnumbered page.

⁷⁸ *MDE*, new series, 1842–44.

Magazine, this was a 6d. monthly for the middle classes and their servants, with a significant female reading audience.⁷⁹ It addressed the management of home, childcare, time and income as well as leisure pursuits such as 'Exhibitions and Amusements'. Departments included 'Cookery and Confectionary', 'Out-door Economy for the Month', 'Gardening for the Month' and 'Medical Advice'.⁸⁰ A home with garden attached, rather than 'apartments in a crowded street', is recommended for the practice of domestic economy, as in the *Suburban Gardener* which it preceded by almost a year.⁸¹ Indeed, the *Magazine of Domestic Economy* may have been a factor towards John Loudon's decision to start his own serial at double the price, targeted towards a wealthier family and largely female audience, more concerned, in general, with the home and garden as spaces for productive leisure. The movement of 'domestic economy' as a department (and title) within these publications indicates the extent to which it developed as a sign of the reader's gender and class over the decades. As Beetham has observed, 'practical domestic management' was to become a staple of cheaper 'family' magazines in the late 1840s.⁸²

In general, the discourse of the day-to-day, with small-scale problems and local solutions which characterised the 'Queries and Answers' department of the *Gardener's Magazine* but was not unique to it, looks forward to domestic discourse of later family magazines and mid-century periodicals for women. Likewise, the exchange between the writer and reader of the 'Queries and Answers' of the *Magazine* anticipates the exchanges in the departments of 'Answers to Correspondents' of the family magazines of the 1840s and periodicals for women after 1850, exemplified by the 'Conversation' of the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*.

The Book Manufactory of Bayswater

In 1823 John Loudon designed and had built his semi-detached residence, nos. 3 and 5 Porchester Terrace, a single building that housed two families. His mother and sisters were installed in no.5, while he occupied no.3, with the offices of the *Gardener's Magazine* and, after his marriage to Jane Webb in 1830, his own family. The 'office' (n), where print media was produced, is prominently displayed in the pages of the *Suburban Gardener* (Figure 5.2), leads into the library (i) and is central to the structure of the house, reflecting its position as the economic foundation of the Loudon establishment. The display of his own house in which the office is an integral part, suggests that John Loudon did not necessarily regard

⁷⁹ See Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green and Judith Johnston (hereafter Fraser et al.), *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 103.

⁸⁰ 'Introduction', *MDE* (1836), i–iii (iii).

⁸¹ 'Outdoor Economy', *MDE*, 1 (1836), 13–16 (13).

⁸² Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own*, p. 46.

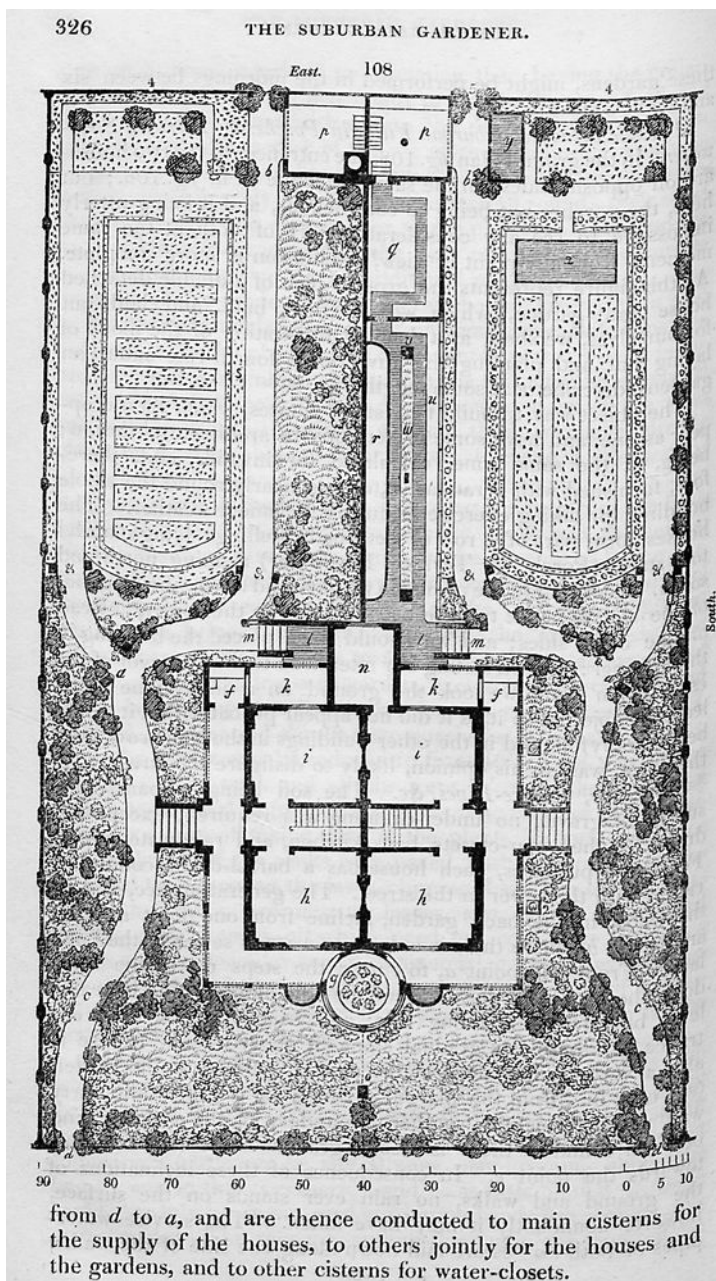


Fig. 5.2

Plan of 3 and 5 Porchester Terrace, *The Suburban Gardener*, and *Villa Companion*, p. 326 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark B. 1. f. 4

this model as an 'unfortunate aberration' in the development of the public/ private sphere divide as Davidoff and Hall have suggested.⁸³ It might be that to retain middle-class readership, he generally represents work and family as geographically apart (as in his invocation of domestic utopia in the introduction to the *Suburban Gardener*), even though this was not his own situation.

The proximity of his office to home may have been determined by John Loudon's difficulty in walking. Having contracted rheumatic fever in 1806 and having had his right arm amputated in 1825, he was an invalid whose fragile body represented a contradiction to the ideal of the masculine working body. Indeed, the veranda that he had especially built round Porchester Terrace, was 'calculated for invalids' and as useful for him as for his elderly mother.⁸⁴

By 1838, he was failing in his capacity as economic pillar of the family. With the costs of the production of the *Arboretum*, the Book Manufactory was in debt. As we have seen, he was reported to owe the paper suppliers, the engravers and the printers the sum of £10,000.⁸⁵ Webb Loudon's explanation as to why the women began to work in the business is candid if the financial effects of the ill-health of the male breadwinner are understood: 'To us, who saw the state of his health, [...] we determined to do everything in our power to prevent the necessity of his exerting himself. Two of his sisters learned wood-engraving; and I, [...] began to write books on those subjects myself'.⁸⁶ All three women laboured to increase the aggregate income of the family. The model for family that John Loudon presented to readers of the *Suburban Gardener* was not the way he lived his own life and demonstrates the contradictions inherent in the ideology of separate spheres. He praised family members as independent authors and illustrators in his reviews in the *Gardener's Magazine*, but his recommendations may well have been connected with the need for income from them.

Women's Education

The idea, that if a woman was educated she would pass on her knowledge to her family and hence to the nation, was common to the nonconformists of both England and Scotland. Their belief in the equality of souls led to developments

⁸³ Davidoff and Hall, p. 181.

⁸⁴ *SG*, p. 325.

⁸⁵ Webb Loudon, 'Life of John Loudon', p. xxxix. By December 1841 the debt had been reduced to £2,600, this was achieved partly by pledging the profits of his other literary property (a total of 13 publications) to his publisher, Longman, which was paying off the creditors. In an application of May 1844 to the Royal Literary Fund (which had assisted Webb Loudon early in her writing career) a few months after John Loudon's death, the debt had increased to £3, 207. See Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science: Flora's Daughters and Botany in England, 1760 to 1860* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 268–9.

⁸⁶ Webb Loudon, 'Life of John Loudon', p. xl.

in education for women in order to produce intellectual companions for their husbands and educators of their children, with all the concomitant implications for the future of the nation. In 1829 John Loudon argued in favour of the education of boys *and girls* of 'all ranks' in one institution (with some differentiation of tasks based on gender) up to puberty:

Supposing Education to be a fluid, we would immerse every male and female child in it, not only for the same length of time, but in order to let the rich become personally acquainted with the poor, and the poor with the rich, *in the same vessel*.⁸⁷

By 1835, he claims to have seen improvements in education for women exemplified by young ladies at an Edinburgh school performing practical chemical experiments. He concludes that the 'rational' education of women will make them and future generations happier.⁸⁸ The contribution of women to the intellectual capital of the family might be seen as a sign of their participation in the domestic sphere and of their power to influence the public sphere through indirect means, but education gave some women the means to create economic capital.

Mary and Jane Loudon, and Jane Webb Loudon were able to participate in the production of books and magazines because they were educated. John Loudon's father was 'a man of enlightened mind and superior information', who (in common with other nonconformists) extended the advantages of education to his daughters as well as his sons.⁸⁹ The specialisms common to educated women, of languages, botany and entomology, were those in which the Loudon sisters excelled. Webb Loudon appears to have been educated at home and, as a young woman, specialised in languages, as we shall see in the next chapter.

The Contributions of Mary and Jane Loudon to the Book Manufactory

Through working with flowers as gardeners, botanists and artists, women found forms of self-expression denied to them in more public arenas. In 1840, two years after John Loudon's literary property had been taken over by Longman, the pocket-size (11 x 17 cm) *Treatise on Insects Injurious to Gardeners, Foresters, and Farmers* appeared. Mary and Jane Loudon translated the German text of Vincent Köllar and produced the engravings. The presence of their gender-neutral initials on the frontispiece, 'J. and M. Loudon', followed by their full names on a dedication page, imply that they were paid directly by the publisher, William Smith (printer Bradbury and Evans), who was also Webb Loudon's main publisher. It has been suggested that their work 'paved the way' for Eleanor Ormerod (1828–1901), a leading entomologist and an acknowledged member in the scientific establishment

⁸⁷ 'Parochial Education', *GM*, 5 (Dec 1829), 692–704 (695).

⁸⁸ See the *Magazine of Natural History*, 8 (1835), iii.

⁸⁹ Webb Loudon, 'Life of John Loudon', p. ix.

of the later nineteenth century.⁹⁰ Several pre-publicity announcements were made by John Loudon in the *Gardener's Magazine*, in which he praised the 'beautiful wood-engraving' and 'strongly recommended it [...] having perused great part of it in manuscript'.⁹¹ He used his *Magazine* to advertise other family publications; the presence of embedded adverts or 'puffing' was common practice amongst magazines as we have seen in Chapter 2.

Translation and engraving have been perceived as skills of interpretation rather than originality. Davidoff and Hall argue that they constituted 'subsidiary' activities within the publishing business, and provided viable working opportunities for women because they were less public and did not necessarily require the use of their own names.⁹² The value placed by Davidoff and Hall on the creation of the 'originals' (ibid.), particularly in relation to the printed image, was a contested point in the early nineteenth century. Part of a wider debate on the value of art made accessible through the medium of print, the skill of the engraver to interpret a line sketch and to transform it for print was essential for book and periodical publication. This was the argument of William A. Chatto in a book, *A Treatise on Wood-Engraving* (1839), and Henry Cole, in an (anonymous) article on wood engraving in the *Westminster Review* (1838).⁹³ We have seen in Chapter 3 that the process of wood engraving was undergoing change from cottage industry to full mechanisation. The division of labour whereby different wood engravers work on different sections of an image – one might specialise in landscape, another in skies – is acknowledged by Henry Cole. He argues that 'all the talents of an artist' are needed by the master engraver to coordinate the work of several individuals in order to create a single unified cut or plate; indicating the profession of art director.⁹⁴ Some influential contemporaries, however, disagreed. A critic of the *Athenaeum* (1843) denigrated the piecework practice of contemporary wood engravers in comparison with the past masters of the process who, he suggested, produced the original drawing and transferred it themselves onto the block.⁹⁵ The critic's assumption, however, of autography concerning the woodcuts of Durer, for example, were mistaken, as his designs were cut by members of guilds.⁹⁶

In his analysis of the *Illustrated London News* (1998), Peter Sinnema has shown that differing rates of pay by the 1840s indicate the lower status of the engraver in relation to the illustrator.⁹⁷ The entry of wood engraving as part of an industrialised process had a twofold effect of multiplying the numbers who practiced the craft and lowering its professional status, while opening up the role of visual supervisor.

⁹⁰ Howe, p. 77.

⁹¹ 'A Treatise on Insects', in 'Catalogue of Works', *GM*, 16 (Feb 1840), 92.

⁹² See Davidoff and Hall, p. 305.

⁹³ 'Modern Wood Engraving', *LWR*, 29 (1838), 265–80.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 265–80 (270).

⁹⁵ 'On Fine Art', *Athenaeum*, 759 (21 Jan 1843), 65–8.

⁹⁶ See Goldman, 'The History of Illustration', p. 138.

⁹⁷ See Sinnema, pp. 54–5.

Industrialisation was already underway by the time that Jane and Mary Loudon were practicing and when women were being advised to take it up as a profession (as Henry Cole suggests).⁹⁸ Talented female siblings in families of wood engravers were gaining some recognition, but in general, lack of opportunities for training would have made it hard for women to rise to the role of art director, or become entrepreneurs, as did Henry Vizetelli and Ebenezer Landells.⁹⁹

The superiority of the originality of the artist over the interpretative skills of the engraver should not be assumed, but in the context of industrialised production the value of the original work starts to take precedence over the interpretation of it for print. Buchanan-Brown suggests, instead, that 'facsimile engravers were acting as partners in the joint production of autonomous works of art' and that their work should be judged as a printmaking process rather than compared to an original drawing.¹⁰⁰

The extent to which Mary and Jane Loudon worked on the engravings for the *Gardener's Magazine* and John Loudon's numerous other publications before or after 1840 is not possible to determine. In the former, as we have seen in Chapter 3, visual images may have been credited if supplied by the contributor of the article or derived from another publication, but numerous captioned cuts which are not accredited to any individual were also published, a practice common to cheaper illustrated publications such as the *Mechanics' Magazine*. There is evidence, however, that the Misses Loudon were responsible for the engravings in some of Jane Webb Loudon's publications. A letter to John Murray, for example, mentions that one of the sisters engraved the woodcuts (from 'original drawings' by Mr March) for *Gardening for Ladies*.¹⁰¹

We have seen in Chapter 4 that John Loudon suggested that women who have studied botany make better landscape painters than the professionals, as he believed that scientific understanding enhanced draughtsmanship. He supported the undervalued, unprofessional status of botanic art in which a number of women were engaged at this time, as opposed to the prestigious status of the predominantly male, professional painter. Indeed, as Ann Bermingham has observed, it was paradoxically the assumption of the amateur nature of botanic art and its suitability

⁹⁸ 'Modern Wood Engraving', *LWR*, 29 (1838), 265–80 (278). John Loudon did not promote the profession of wood engraving for women even though his sisters were trained. Possibly, he was more aware than Henry Cole of generally pitiable pay and poor working conditions for the majority of wood engravers. It might be that landscape design and botanical drawing, which he did recommend as occupations for women, had greater money-making potential.

⁹⁹ Women could not serve in long apprenticeships, see Buchanan-Brown, p. 290.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

¹⁰¹ National Library of Scotland, Murray Archive, MS40713 (6 Oct 1839). See Suzanne-Le-May Sheffield, 'Gendered Collaborations: Marrying Art and Science', in *Figuring It Out: Science, Gender and Visual Culture*, (ed.) Ann B. Shteir and Bernard Lightman (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2006) pp. 240–64 (p. 257).

as a feminine pastime which allowed women to participate more seriously.¹⁰² The botanic art produced by the women of the Book Manufactory of Bayswater was professional in the sense that the work was published and made available to the public.

Mary Loudon was one of the 'seven artists' employed in the drawing of trees from dawn until dusk in preparation for the *Arboretum*, as we have seen. The omission of this information by Webb Loudon in her account of John Loudon's life may have been because she believed that this would have deflected attention from her husband's achievements. Alternatively, by the time that Webb Loudon was constructing her account in 1845, Mary Loudon was a married woman living in Poland, and mention of her former work in this capacity was not perceived as desirable, although her work on entomology is mentioned. Both Mary and Jane Loudon may not generally have been paid in 'ready money' for their work on the *Arboretum* (or the *Gardener's Magazine*), as their (possibly) unpaid labour allowed John Loudon to pay the other credited artists. However, as Davidoff and Hall point out, payment in money was not the self-defining requirement it had become by the twentieth century.¹⁰³ Their thesis of the invisibility of the work done by women, and referred to more recently by Sheffield in the context of scientific illustrations created by women for their husbands' publications, is borne out here.¹⁰⁴

The use of initials by John Loudon to credit their work for the *Arboretum* as illustrators (Mary Loudon as 'Miss M.L.' and Jane Loudon as 'Miss J.L.') rather than their surnames, as with their male counterparts, effectively lowers their profile. However, 'Miss Eliza Ronalds' (also referred to as 'Miss E. Ronalds') was another illustrator, whose surname is credited. This would suggest that the use of initials to denote the surname of Mary and Jane Loudon was not so much to do with their gender as that the use of the surname might have brought unwelcome attention to the family nature of the production of the *Arboretum*. This, in turn, might suggest that John Loudon had difficulty in paying employees (which was indeed the case). However, he was not unique in his use of initials for his immediate family; pseudonymous signatures, anonymity, or initials were a common ploy by editors in this period to disguise the small pool of contributors.¹⁰⁵

The initials of Jane Loudon, as 'J.L.' also appear regularly in the *Gardener's Magazine* between 1838 and 1841, as the translator from German into English of articles from *Der Garten Zeitung*; Mary Loudon ('M.L.') also did some translations in 1841. The timing of their contributions suggests that John Loudon called upon his sisters to contribute to the written text of the magazine when funds were low. The issue of anonymity for women and the advantages they could derive from this, as opposed to its function as the negation of their presence in periodical

¹⁰² See Bermingham, pp. 214–5.

¹⁰³ See Davidoff and Hall, p. 285.

¹⁰⁴ See Sheffield, 'Gendered Collaborations', p. 253.

¹⁰⁵ This was one of numerous motives for anonymity. See Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition*.

literature, has been discussed by Fraser and Easley.¹⁰⁶ Both argue that anonymous publication allowed a greater number of women to participate in journalism than was generally acknowledged; it gave them opportunities to debate social issues not conventionally considered suitable topics for women, and it allowed them to avoid the use of what was perceived as the personal and idiosyncratic feminine voice.

Within John Loudon's publications, the use of initials as signatures may well have been due instead to family membership, as the subject matter was not controversial (botany was a science in which woman could excel), and was also common to a number of contributors to the *Gardener's Magazine* throughout its duration. The naming of contributors of either gender was not common practice at this time in non-technical magazines as we have seen in Chapter 2. The majority of the articles for the *Monthly Magazine* for example, from 1830–35 were unsigned whilst those of the *Ladies' Cabinet* from 1836–39 were, generally, either unsigned initialled or pseudonymous. It was with a new monthly publication of 1859, *Macmillan's Magazine*, that the practice of signed articles recommenced, followed by the *Fortnightly Review* of 1865, and it was only in the 1880s that the practice became more widespread.¹⁰⁷

In the first part of this chapter, I argued that John Loudon promoted the domestic garden for both the poor and the middle classes as separate from paid labour and as beneficial to the polis. He moved away, then, from the radically democratic vision of the 'Education of Gardeners' (1822) towards a discourse of specialisation and clear demarcation between working and middle classes. Gardens for both groups might be construed as spaces in which people would voluntarily be kept in order, but with the middle-class domestic garden and access to money and leisure, greater opportunities for creativity and self-expression arise.

The publications of John Loudon offered a scientific approach to horticulture and women readers were enabled to contribute to the development of science centred around gardens. The development of taste in relation to man-made objects in both the *Gardener's Magazine* and the *Suburban Gardener* also provided women with channels for creativity and purchasing power (apart from gardens), which had previously been generally confined to a wealthy elite. The materiality of the day to day, domestic economy, consumerism and creativity discussed in John Loudon's publications became the focus of periodicals for women in the mid-nineteenth century, as did the more intimate discourse of the 'Queries and Answers' of 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' in which readers were also contributors.

The contributions of Jane and Mary Loudon exemplify the participation of women as producers in the publishing business, but it was Jane Webb Loudon who was the most productive; an analysis of her contribution follows in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁶ See Fraser et al. (2003); Easley *First-Person Anonymous: Women Writers and Victorian Print Media, 1830–70* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

¹⁰⁷ See Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 15. See also Graham Law, 'Anonymity and Signature', *DNCJ* (pp. 18–19) for a summary of nineteenth-century arguments for and against the use of signature and its shifting applications.

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Chapter 6

Jane Webb Loudon, Editor and Author of Garden Publications

Jane Webb Loudon's contribution to the Book Manufactory of Bayswater will be the focus of the first part of Chapter 6, with a brief introduction to her career before her marriage. In the context of the 'financial underpinnings of authorship, publishing and bookselling', I demonstrate how her science-based writing on gardening invited new readerships.¹ This is followed by an analysis of her editorship of a weekly paper, the *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad*, at a time when the production of the press was largely a male preserve. It has been said that Webb Loudon 'worked pragmatically within the dominant mid-century norms of gender and class'.² I argue that the tensions within these norms are exposed through the combination of her pedagogical remit for the paper across a broad range of subjects and her awareness of women's lack of economic resources.

In common with other middle-class girls, the education of Jane Webb (1807–58) had been informal. Her father, a prominent Birmingham businessman and engineer, took her with him on a tour of France and Italy in 1819 when she was aged 12, following the death of his wife. From the age of 17, however, after her father died in 1824, and with little other financial support, she had been obliged to work for a living. The publication of *Prose and Verse* in the same year by Wrightson of Birmingham, with additional distribution by Baldwin, Cradock and Joy of London, might indicate that at this early age the writing of Jane Webb had commercial potential. Published under her maiden name 'Jane Webb', it attests to her knowledge of European languages, as it contains interpretations of French, Italian, Spanish and German texts, as well as original short poems and fiction.³ This was followed by her anonymous first novel, a science-fiction satire, *The Mummy! A Tale of the Twenty-Second Century* (1827). Henry Colburn was the publisher, but the three-decker received an ambivalent review from the *Literary Gazette*. The sale of a second edition in 1828, however, strongly suggests that it was a commercial

¹ Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836–1916* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 3.

² Shteir, 'Green-Stocking or Blue? Science in Three Women's Magazines, 1800–50', in *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, (ed.) Louise Henson et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 3–13 (p. 10).

³ *Prose and Verse* (Birmingham: Wrightson, 1824). See Howe, p. 32–3.

success.⁴ Colburn also published her *Stories of a Bride* in 1829 but did not agree to finance a periodical, the *Tabby Magazine*, which she had hoped to edit.

Conversations upon Comparative Chronology was another anonymous publication by Jane Webb in which ancient history is presented in the form of a dialogue between a mother and her children; a popular format for making such 'dry' subjects accessible to young people.⁵ It was published in 1830 by Longman who continued to publish her work after her marriage. In the meantime, she became a contributor to the *Literary Gazette* under the auspices of its editor, William Jerdan, well-known for his support for other young lady writers.⁶ One of his most short-lived projects was the Juvenile Library series also published by Colburn. The third volume, *The History of Africa*, refers to its anonymous author as the author of 'Conversations on Chronology' on its frontispiece, suggesting that Jane Webb was the author.⁷ A review in the *Athenaeum* was slightly more favourable to the 'gentle' historian's African history than to the initial volumes, which were generally panned by critics partly because of the rushed nature of the project.⁸

Before Jane Webb met John Loudon she was already a writer and journalist of some experience and reputation if financially insecure. Their meeting in 1830 took place because John Loudon wanted to meet the author of *The Mummy*: 'It may be easily supposed that he was surprised to find the author of the book a woman; but I believe that from that evening he formed an attachment to me, and, in fact, we were married on the 14th of the following September'.⁹ In her novel, milking machines, an expresso-like coffee-making machine, air travel and the delivery of letters by cannonballs are just some of the new systems that Webb Loudon imagines will have come into existence by 2126. She suggests that her exploration of science did not conform to John Loudon's expectations of the author's gender. Her debt to and

⁴ 'With much talent and much imagination, these volumes are nevertheless very unequal. Excepting for its gay sarcasm, the future is stubborn material for a writer', 'The Mummy! A Tale of the Twenty-Second Century', *Literary Gazette* (13 Oct 1827), 660–61 (660).

⁵ Jane Webb, *Conversations upon Comparative Chronology and General History from the Creation of the World to the Birth of Christ* (London: Longman, 1830). Ibid., preface.

⁶ 'Mrs Loudon' was one of three well-known women writers apart from Lady Blessington and Mrs Carter Hall, whose career Jerdan claimed to have launched. A 'roll-call' of 17 other women writers also, he suggested, received his encouragement in their early publication, some as contributors to the *Gazette*. See William Jerdan, *Autobiography*, 4 vols (London: Hall, Virtue, 1852) 4, p. 328.

⁷ See also letter to Jerdan from Jane Webb, Bodleian: MS. Eng. lett. d.113–4. *The History of Africa* (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1830). Attributed to Jane Haldimand Marcet (1769–1858) in some library catalogues.

⁸ *Athenaeum*, (23 Oct 1830), 657–8 (658). Jerdan's Juvenile Library series ceased publication soon afterwards; see Susan Matoff, *Conflicted Life: William Jerdan, 1782–1869, London Editor, Author and Critic* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), p. 241.

⁹ 'Life of John Loudon', p. xxxv. Howe, p. 38.

her arguments against *Frankenstein* in *The Mummy* have been discussed by Lisa Hopkins.¹⁰ Through her marriage she was able to develop a more lucrative career, and according to Jerdan, 'she wisely abandoned the unsuccessful struggle, and leaving the fields of romance, she happily became the helpmeet of Mr Loudon in the spirit of his practical labours and solid productions'.¹¹ Jerdan's summary draws attention to the economic motives for authorship and the difficulties of earning a living through fiction ('romance').

When they met, John Loudon (46 years old) was an invalid, prematurely aged by the effects of his illness. He had been unable to draw or write for many years and employed assistants for these activities. After her marriage at the age of 23, Jane Webb Loudon became his amanuensis, but her description of the way they worked together suggests a partnership rather than the master/slave relationship of the term's origins.¹² The extent to which her talents were subsumed to John Loudon's interests, and the pattern of marriage to a much older man (having already cared for her father from the age of 12), however, fit the model of a woman taking on the caring and assisting role advocated by domestic ideology.

As John Loudon's assistant, Webb Loudon's knowledge of the science of gardens expanded. She contributed to the *Gardener's Magazine* under her initials 'J.W.L.', and summarised John Lindley's lectures for readers in June 1832. His lectures were formative for the development of her knowledge, but her published summary raised the hackles of rival magazine editors. George Glenny attacked her contributions in his *Horticultural Journal and Florists' Register* of 1834. He referred to her as 'the hag' and a 'lying old woman'; suggesting, as had earlier male writers, that women who write about science, and even botany, sacrifice their womanliness, as Webb Loudon was just 27 at the time.¹³ The stereotyping of knowledgeable women reflected cultural uncertainty about women's place especially among the middle classes, and, as James Secord has suggested, was a reaction against the increasingly significant part that women were playing in national cultural life.¹⁴

After 1838 the profits from John Loudon's already published works were paying off the *Arboretum* debt. His alternative employment as a landscape designer and his later publications contributed to the family coffers. But Jane Webb Loudon was under intense financial pressure after the losses incurred by the *Arboretum*, which continued into widowhood (see below).

¹⁰ L. Hopkins, 'Jane C. Loudon's *The Mummy!* Mary Shelley Meets George Orwell, and They Go in a Balloon to Egypt', *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text*, 10 (June 2003). <www.cf.ac.uk/encap/journals/corvey/articles/cc10_n01.html>.

¹¹ 'Characteristic Letters', *Leisure Hour* (1 Feb 1869), 140; Simo, p. 270.

¹² See Webb Loudon, 'Life of John Loudon', p. xxxviii.

¹³ 'Loudon's Old Woman', *HJFB*, 1 (July 1833), 54.

¹⁴ See Secord, p. 46.



Fig. 6.1

The study of gardening and botany is fashionable, *Ladies' Cabinet*, 10 (July–Dec 1836), opp. p. 332 (original in colour) © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 5170

The Garden Publications of Jane Webb Loudon

The *Ladies' Flower-Garden* series which Jane Webb Loudon started in 1838 and which was on sale from 1839 was the first gardening work published under her married name 'Mrs Loudon'. The series, the first on *Annuals*, followed by *Bulbous Plants*, then *Perennials* and finally *Greenhouse Plants* was completed over the course of eight years. Each of the series was sold initially at 2s. 6d. per monthly part for a 12- to 18-month period. More expensive than the *Gardener's Magazine* at 1s. 6d. and the *Suburban Gardener* at 1s., the price is comparable with the with the top-end fashion monthly periodicals such as the *Lady's Magazine and Museum of the Belles Lettres* (1832–37) at 2s. 6d., and the *World of Fashion* (1824–51) and the *Nouveau Beau Monde* (1844–46) at 2s. each. The *Ladies' Flower-Garden* series then, was intended for the wealthier lady reader, possibly the wife or relation of the reader of the *Arboretum*, also a 2s. 6d. monthly. In demy quarto format (27 x 21 cm), it was considerably larger than the *Arboretum* and contained coloured lithographic plates. When 'complete', the bound volume of each series was sold for two guineas on average.¹⁵ Published by William Smith and printed by Bradbury and Evans, the *Ladies' Flower-Garden* series served as reference books for wealthier woman readers, exemplified, perhaps, in Figure 6.1, from the *Ladies' Cabinet*. The intersection of gardening and women's fashion, the aspirational nature of gardening and botany and their appropriateness as subjects for women to study are all suggested by the plate along with the consumption of magazines as a leisure activity.¹⁶

The coloured plates of the first three volumes that accompanied Webb Loudon's text were lithographed by Day and Haghe (now 'lithographers to the Queen') who worked on the *Arboretum*. The drawings for *Annuals* were by H. Noel Humphreys (1807–1879), a relation, continuing the tradition of publishing as a family business.¹⁷ As with the horticultural periodicals discussed in Chapter 2, the images (three plates on average per number) constituted an important selling point, although their value as part of scientific discourse was debated in the period as we have seen. The majority of male science writers may have limited imagery

¹⁵ *The Ladies' Flower-Garden of Ornamental Annuals*, 1840 (£2 2s.); *The Ladies' Flower-Garden of Ornamental Bulbous Plants*, 1841 (£2 12s. 6d.); *The Ladies' Flower-Garden of Ornamental Perennials* (1842–44), two volumes bound into one, 1847 (£4 4s.); *The Ladies' Flower-Garden of Ornamental Greenhouse Plants* (1847–48). All published in London by William Smith. Hereafter, *LFG* in footnotes and brackets.

¹⁶ *LC*, 10 (Jul–Dec 1836), opp. 332.

¹⁷ Humphreys was also responsible for the plates for Jane Webb Loudon's later volume on *British Wild Flowers* (William Smith, 1846). Howard Leathlean refers to H. Noel Humphreys as 'a neighbour of a relative' of John Loudon in 'Humphreys (Henry) Noel (1807–1879)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) online edn, Oct 2007, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14519>> [accessed 27 Nov 2012]. It might be that the relationship was through John Loudon's marriage to Webb Loudon, who was born in Birmingham, as was Humphreys.

in scientific texts but female science writers used illustrations extensively to attract new audiences.¹⁸

The wording of adverts in *The Times*, however, emphasised the accuracy of the plates and the volume of plants (10 or 12) illustrated.¹⁹ The portrayal of plants was different to earlier botanical publications which had generally depicted a single plant (Figure 2.1), or quarter-size single plants on one plate. The plants of the *Ladies' Flower-Garden* are grouped according to the natural system (Figure 6.2). The increase in number and in variety of colour of plants per plate indicates the plethora of species available. John Loudon notes the added value to the reader of showing so many plants, emphasising, as he had done in the *Arboretum*, the connection between reader and consumer.

The commodification of plants by middle-class male readers is extended by Webb Loudon to female readers. The progression of the *Ladies' Flower-Garden*, a part-work, sold serially over 18 months, was similar to the 'relentless forward advance of the periodical' which Kay Boardman has referred to in relation to the portrayal of the fashionable woman in women's magazines.²⁰ Annuals may have been the subject of the first of the *Ladies' Flower-Garden* series because their short life has the clearest parallel with fashion's transient properties. Webb Loudon advises readers that the speed with which annual plants grow and the display they can provide for the low cost of the seeds makes them ideal for suburban residences 'which are not hired for more than a year'.²¹ Provided with the information needed to name, purchase and cultivate the plants illustrated, the reader might be transformed from viewer and consumer to producer. The plants of the later series, bulbous plants, perennials and hothouse plants need more time to grow, although they too (like their forebears in early horticultural part works) are as subject to fashionable taste as annuals.

In her introduction to the first number of the *Ladies' Flower-Garden of Ornamental Annuals*, the first in the series (dated November 1838), Webb Loudon indicates what might be new, or desirable. She will guide her readers towards a judicious selection of the best kinds as she has consulted with 'best judges' on the subject.²² Her self-deprecating register fits with the modesty expected of feminine behaviour. Bernard Lightman in *Victorian Popularisers of Science* (2007) refers to the 'facade of deference' taken up by women science writers which took the form of positive references to the writing of male practitioners.²³ Webb Loudon's text for the *Ladies' Flower-Garden* series was science-based, and named male experts serve to justify her approach. She observes that the plants are arranged systematically

¹⁸ See Lightman, *Victorian Popularisers*, p. 138; see also Lightman, 'Depicting Nature, Defining Roles: The Gender Politics of Victorian Illustration', in *Figuring It Out*, pp. 214–39 (pp. 218–9).

¹⁹ *The Times*, Fri, 28 Dec 1838, p. 8.

²⁰ Boardman, *JVC*, 3 (Spring 1998), 93–110 (107).

²¹ *LFG, Annuals*, p. ii.

²² *Ibid.*, p. i.

²³ Lightman, *Victorian Popularisers*, p. 155.



Fig. 6.2

The multitude of plants contrasts with the single-plant images of earlier botanical publications, *The Ladies' Flower-Garden of Ornamental Annuals*, pl. 26 (original in colour) © The British Library Board. Shelfmark 722. 1 4

according to the natural system adopted by John Loudon in his 'lately published' *Arboretum* (a discreet puff for her husband's publication). She acknowledges her debt to John Lindley, who, in his *Ladies' Botany* (1834), had made the natural system of De Candolle accessible to women; De Candolle developed the system devised by Jussieu in opposition to the Linnaean system. She suggests that her readers, if they have time, should study Lindley's text, with the implication that her own writing on plants bridges the gap between female ignorance and male expertise. Occasionally citing mythology or fiction in relation to the etymology of plants, Webb Loudon does not recount the symbolism of plants or refer to their medicinal use. In her account of women and the development of science, Ann B. Shteir has argued that Webb Loudon's approach was significantly different from that of her female predecessors whose knowledge of plants was framed within conversational or epistolary form.²⁴ Webb Loudon positioned herself, then, as Shteir (and Lightman) have suggested, 'on the threshold of knowledge, helping her readers cross over into scientific study'.²⁵

The power which women might exert through the reading of the series is transformed by her use of the personalised feminine editorial/authorial voice into a more self-effacing activity. In common with other female popularisers of science, as Lightman has observed, she suggests that the love of plants fits in with Christian duties and acceptable models of middle-class feminine behaviour:²⁶

The love of flowers is calculated to improve our best feelings and subdue our bad ones; and we can hardly contemplate the beauty and riches of a flower-garden without feeling our hearts dilate with gratitude to that Almighty Being who has made all these lovely blossoms, and given them for our use.²⁷

The reference to God and collective 'gratitude' for nature's variety in the introduction served to play down the discourses of science and consumerism through which the serial operated.

Moreover, Webb Loudon emphasises garden activities that do not require physical strength and avoid contact with the soil:

The pruning and training of trees, and the culture of culinary vegetables, require too much strength and manual labour; but a lady, with the assistance of a common labourer to level and prepare the ground, may turn a barren waste into a flower-garden with her own hands. Sowing the seeds of annuals, watering them, transplanting them when necessary, training the plants by tying them to little sticks as props, or by leading them over trellis-work, and cutting off the dead flowers, or gathering seeds for the next years' crop, are all suitable for feminine occupations; and they have the additional advantage of inducing gentle exercise in the open air.²⁸

²⁴ See Shteir, *Cultivating Women*, p. 222.

²⁵ Shteir, *ibid.*, p. 221; Lightman, *Victorian Popularisers*, p. 125.

²⁶ See Lightman, *ibid.*, pp. 146–54.

²⁷ *LFG, Annuals*, p. i.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

The contradiction inherent in the achievement of transforming a 'barren waste' into a flower garden 'with her own hands' and the necessity of the 'common labourer' to help her do so, suggest the invisible presence of servants. Webb Loudon represents her readers as managers rather than labourers, as all the activities listed preclude heavy and 'dirty' work except those, which 'inducing gentle exercise', might benefit health. The association of women so closely with the flower garden lay not just in their lesser physical strength but also in the fact that women were not, in general, the owners of land.²⁹ Flower gardens in the period were becoming increasingly associated with women as an extension of indoor spaces, and in the plans of Repton and John Loudon, they are generally positioned close to the house. A relatively small area, it was where a woman could specialise, and, if necessary, move the flowers around herself. As the suburban garden became smaller (the smallest John Loudon includes is one perch), the distinction between it and the flower garden dissolves; hence, the growing connection in the period between the woman of middling rank and her garden in general.

Webb Loudon's *Instructions in Gardening for Ladies* (1840) was a practical publication, unlike the *Flower-Garden* series. Containing wood engravings, its small size 8vo (16 x 10 cm) would have fitted into the pocket of the gardening apron featured on the wood-engraved frontispiece (Figure 6.3).³⁰ Webb Loudon advises readers on how to dig and what tools they might need, but she includes the caveat that digging appears to be an occupation 'peculiarly unfitted to small and delicately formed hands and feet', and assumes daintiness as a sign of femininity.³¹

John Murray, the publisher of *Gardening for Ladies*, assumed that John Loudon would be the named author (in order to capitalise on his greater prestige).³² Webb Loudon's angry riposte might suggest the importance she attached to the idea of women communicating to each other in order to overcome the daunting nature of male expertise.³³ In the introduction she explains how much she has learnt from John Loudon and that, 'as a full-grown pupil', she will communicate her knowledge in a way that will be understood by amateur gardeners.³⁴

Priced at around 6s., *Gardening for Ladies* sold more than 1,350 copies on the day of publication and went into at least three editions.³⁵ Webb Loudon's *Ladies' Companion to the Flower-Garden* (William Smith, 1841), another pocketbook-size publication with wood engravings, may also have provided a cheap alternative or supplement to the *Ladies' Flower-Garden* series. Priced at 6s. 6d. it sold more than

²⁹ See Davidoff and Hall, p. 206.

³⁰ Webb Loudon, *Instructions in Gardening for Ladies* (London: John Murray, 1840) Hereafter, *Gardening for Ladies* in text and footnotes.

³¹ Ibid., p. 7; see Davidoff and Hall, p. 374.

³² See National Library of Scotland (NLS), Murray Archive, MS41911, 9 May 1839. See Lightman, *Victorian Popularisers*, p. 118.

³³ See NLS Murray Archive, MS 40713, 10 May 1839.

³⁴ Webb Loudon, *Gardening for Ladies*, p. vi.

³⁵ See Lightman, *Victorian Popularisers*, p. 111.



Fig. 6.3

Small enough to fit into the apron pocket, *Instructions in Gardening for Ladies*, frontispiece © The British Library Board. Shelfmark 724. 1. 4

20,000 copies and, within a decade, went into five editions, reaching a ninth by 1879.³⁶ The number of editions reflects her commercial success, while the range of pricing and the spectrum of production values of Webb Loudon's publications reflect the diversity of her middle-class female reading audience.

Webb Loudon went on to write *Botany for Ladies* (Murray, 1842). The change in title to *Modern Botany* (1851) in its second edition opened up, as Shteir has argued, a 'broader intellectual space for women while also inviting male readers into this introductory text'.³⁷ In between the *Ladies' Flower-Garden* series on *Ornamental Perennials* (1843) and the final volume of the series on *Greenhouse Plants* (1848), Webb Loudon authored *British Wild Flowers* (1846). This was another of her publications that went into at least three editions. It followed the format of the *Ladies' Flower-Garden* series but addressed female and male readers. This new emphasis marks a fundamental change for female popularisers of science as they begin to write for an audience that included adult males.³⁸

Her cheapest publication was the *Ladies' Magazine of Gardening* (William Smith). A 1s. 6d. monthly, the same price and frequency as the *Gardener's Magazine* at this time, it was oriented towards women gardeners and readers. Webb Loudon edited and wrote for it during 1841. Its short duration might indicate that the market for this kind of publication was not large enough to cover production costs. The small suburban garden and plants in the home constitute the core subject matter of this *Magazine*, with each number consisting of 32 (15 x 23 cm) pages, with one coloured plate (not shown) and several wood engravings (Figure 6.4). Larger and with fewer pages than the *Gardener's Magazine*, it followed traditional horticultural periodical design with the coloured plate and its description at the front of each number. The 'Floral Calender' which consistently finished each number was characteristic of cheaper periodicals intended for a less educated audience such as Harrison's 6d. *Floricultural Cabinet* (1833–59). Some contributors, such as Mr Main and Mr Gorrie, contributed both to the *Ladies' Magazine of Gardening* and the *Gardener's Magazine*. Each title contains a mix of named and pseudonymous contributions, but the absence of formally qualified contributors, the presence of named women contributors, and of the editor herself, distinguishes the *Ladies' Magazine of Gardening* sharply from the *Gardener's Magazine*. Indeed, it appears that with the naming of Mrs Glover, Miss Smith and Mrs Atherstone, Webb Loudon successfully (albeit briefly) promoted a small-scale network of female garden writers.

Like the *Gardener's Magazine*, Webb Loudon's publication is driven by science, with practical advice on how to cultivate plants. Theory also had its place in the *Magazine's* discourse exemplified by the explanation of how light works in

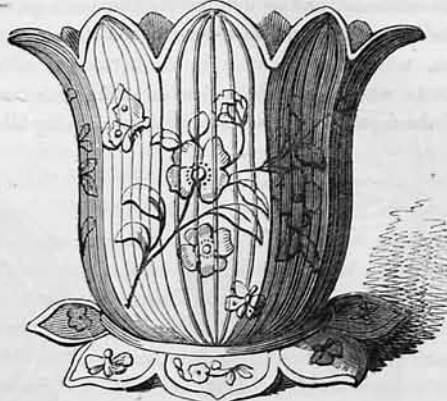
³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Shteir, *Cultivating Women*, p. 227; Lightman, *Victorian Popularisers*, p. 124.

³⁸ See Lightman, *ibid.*

Besides these, ornamental china flower-pots have been constructed, in which the saucer is completely disguised, as shown in *figs. 52 and 53*, the engravings of which were lent to me by my kind friend, Captain Mangles; and in the vase flower-pot (*e* in *fig. 54*), manufactured of red earth at Derby, and which is not more expensive than the common kinds. There are also propagating pots (*a* in *fig. 54*), for hanging round a branch of a tree; pots with a raised bottom to prevent the entrance of worms (*b* and *c*); and channelled pots (*d*), to facilitate the escape of superfluous moisture.

Fig. 53.



TULIP FLOWER-POT.

Fig. 54.



ON THE EARTH-WORM.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE common earth-worm (*Lumbricus terrestris*) has a long cylindrical body, composed of a hundred, or a hundred and fifty rings, by which it has the power of contracting its body at pleasure. Its head is only distinguished by being narrower and more pointed; and it has neither eyes nor horns. About thirty-two rings from the head there is a kind of protuberance, which forms a belt round the body, from six to nine rings broad. Every ring of the body is furnished with eight short spines or

relation to colour and how this might affect the design of the flower garden.³⁹ The predominance of entomology and ornithology in almost every number suggests orientation towards female readership. The majority of the wood engravings of the *Ladies' Magazine* derive from the *Gardener's Magazine* as the series of articles 'On Rockwork' (*LMG*, January to March 1841) demonstrates. The letterpress, however, 'by the Editor', has been rewritten and much reduced by Webb Loudon. In general, the proportion of image to text is greater in the *Ladies' Magazine of Gardening* than in the *Gardener's Magazine*, confirming the representation of female consumers as similar to children, and more responsive to visual imagery than written text. The magazines had departments in common, such as 'Queries and Answers', 'Retrospective Criticism', 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' and 'Reviews'. Their appearance in the *Ladies' Magazine of Gardening* is intermittent with a much reduced volume of text, excepting for 'Queries and Answers', which was a regular feature and took up, on average, 10 per cent of each monthly number. The presence of female names in this department suggests that women were indeed reading the magazine and were hungry for gardening knowledge.⁴⁰

While accounts of a tour of the North of England and areas of Scotland (June to September 1841) appeared in the *Gardener's Magazine* and the *Ladies' Magazine of Gardening*, their differences exemplify the ways in which John Loudon and Webb Loudon represented their respective audiences as readers and consumers. We have seen in Chapter 2 how John Loudon's tours incorporated the scientific eye. Ten years later, his account is still rooted in geography and geology, with the implications of what he sees connected to wider social structures. The landscape of estates visited, how these are constructed or what ought to be done are central to his account. For Webb Loudon landscape is peripheral to her own reactions to it and of the people that she meets. She also makes frequent reference to her daughter Agnes, who was with her parents on this journey, and to John Loudon. Humour and family conjoin in the episode at the house of Milton Lockhart where 'we saw a descendant of the celebrated pepper-and-mustard terriers, named Spice, who, so far from partaking of the fiery spirit of his ancestors, suffered my little Agnes to take him in her arms without making the slightest resistance'.⁴¹ Such levity is absent from John Loudon's narrative, and neither his family nor the dog are mentioned.

³⁹ 'The Principles of Colours, as applied to Flower-Gardens', *LMG* (July 1841), 196–7 (197).

⁴⁰ The majority are unsigned; some are signed with initials or pseudonyms, but 'Jemima' asks about the identity of trees in Kensington Gardens (*LMG*, 151–2). 'J.W. Manning' is addressed as 'Madam' in answer to her query about Australian seeds (*LMG*, 150–51). See Teresa Gerrard, 'New Methods in the History of Reading: "Answers to Correspondents" in the *Family Herald*, 1860–1900', *PH*, 43 (1998), 53–70, for the relevance of 'Queries and Answers' for indicating the identity of the readers of magazines.

⁴¹ 'The Editor's Tour', *LMG* (Oct 1841), 256–64 (263).

The reactions of both writers to the sweet williams of the garden at Milton Lockhart demonstrate their differences at the level of the sentence. John Loudon comments, 'In the flower-garden we found a collection of sweet-williams which surpassed in beauty everything of the kind that we had before seen'.⁴² Webb Loudon writes, 'I was very much pleased with the double sweet-williams, which looked like little roses'.⁴³ John Loudon deploys the plural 'we' and objectifies the beauty of the sweet williams. Webb Loudon uses the first person singular and describes her personal response to the flowers. Her style conforms to what Alexis Easley has referred to as 'essentialised notions of 'feminine' voice and identity'.⁴⁴ The alternative editorial voices of John and Jane Webb Loudon confirm and reflect perceptions of gendered readership.

The *Ladies' Magazine of Gardening* included a number of plans of the flower garden. Throughout her publications Webb Loudon emphasises the pleasure that a woman may derive from her garden as it will be small enough to be under her control (instead of being controlled by the master-gardener). Mrs Lawrence's garden management is featured in the *Magazine*, although at 28 acres it is an exception rather than the rule. *The Lady's Country Companion: or How to Enjoy a Country Life Rationally*, price 7s. 6d. (Longman, 1845), went into two editions.⁴⁵ In this more expensive text, landscaping at the estate level (not just the flower garden) is discussed as an activity in which women could play a part as designers. Through an exchange of letters, the older experienced 'Mrs Loudon' advises the young newly married young woman, 'Annie', on how to manage and aestheticise a country estate. The garden as a geographical space in which women might be in control is extended and naturalised in Webb Loudon's publications to different niche markets of middle-class women indicated by nuances of title and price difference. The majority of her titles fall into the medium-price range (3s. 7d. to 10s.), which as James Secord has documented, was part of a wider trend in book production by the 1840s.⁴⁶

The high productivity of the decade from 1838 to 1848 demonstrates the financial pressures Webb Loudon was under in order to pay off the debt from the *Arboretum* and as a widow from 1843, to support her extended family. Her letters to John Murray display frustration at the way her manuscripts were being ignored and delays in payment. She is concerned that 'our establishment must break up' because she cannot pay the bills.⁴⁷ Lightman suggests that Webb Loudon was one of a number of women who found it difficult to make a living from writing about science partly because the average price for copyright of a book was around

⁴² 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour', *GM*, 18 (Aug 1842), 385–90 (389).

⁴³ *LMG* (Oct 1841), 256–64 (263).

⁴⁴ Easley, p. 1.

⁴⁵ See Lightman, *Victorian Popularisers*, p. 111.

⁴⁶ See Secord, p. 30.

⁴⁷ NLS, Murray Archive, MS40713, undated (I estimate May 1842). See also Le May Sheffield, 'Gendered Collaborations', p. 256.

£50.⁴⁸ Despite having requested and received three times that amount (£150) for copyright of both *Instructions in Gardening for Ladies* and *Botany for Ladies* Webb Loudon struggled to make ends meet.⁴⁹ However, it seems reasonable to conclude from the large copyright payments and the number of editions some of her titles reached (see below) that her financial contribution to the maintenance of the family at nos. 3 and 5 Porchester Terrace from 1839 was substantial.

The overlapping of the *Flower-Garden* series, other garden publications, books on natural history and botany for women and children, as well as children's fiction, entailed long hours of labour. Webb Loudon was particularly busy in 1841, as she was working on the *Ladies' Companion to the Flower-Garden* (with John Loudon), the *Ladies' Flower-Garden of Ornamental Bulbous Plants* was in progress and she was editing and writing the *Ladies' Magazine of Gardening*. She cited overwork as the reason for the cessation of the *Ladies' Magazine*.

It is evident that the titles of her publications forge a link with women and gardens, as in the 'flower-garden' linked to 'ladies', and to the more upper class, landed gentry 'lady's', as in her *Lady's Country Companion* of 1845. The 'companion' though, recalls the idea of the genteel servant, the middle-class woman who is obliged to be the companion of either relatives or an employer because she is economically dependent on them. Her titles indicate then, both the increasing feminisation of the garden in practical terms, and the configuration of Webb Loudon's role as writer and editor who assists, guides and informs her women readers. This was a role she developed when she became editor of a weekly paper for women, the subject of the final part of this chapter.

The Range of Garden Publications

We have seen in Chapter 5 that John Loudon shifts his representation of gardens depending on his anticipated readership; in the *Gardener's Magazine* the emphasis on the science of horticulture might be seen as favouring the underpaid working gardener, rather than women. The differences between his *Magazine*, the *Suburban Gardener* and Webb Loudon's approach to gardening in her publications might also be due to the passage of time. In the later 1830s, after the electoral Reform Act of 1832, and the threat of instability posed by Chartism, the interests of the middle classes and the working poor had become more polarised, and the audience for garden publications more fragmented. Women were included as readers for traditional horticultural periodicals, discussed in Chapter 2, and for the *Gardener's Magazine* in its early years of publication. It might be that with class polarisation, differences of gender within the middle-class reading audience develop and that garden publications by the Loudons explore and profit from this divide. Moreover, the industrialisation of the book trade, which led to an increase in numbers of books

⁴⁸ See Lightman, *Victorian Popularisers*, p. 122.

⁴⁹ See NLS, Murray Archive MS41911, 9 May 1839; 28 Oct 1840.

produced, particularly at the bottom and middle-price range, allowed for greater stratification. As Andrew King and John Plunkett have observed, the development of restricted niche markets arose with the shift towards mass production that began in the 1820s.⁵⁰

John Loudon's Book Manufactory of Bayswater was well established by the 1830s with the production of encyclopaedias, sold in parts, as well as books and pamphlets. We have seen that with the reduction in price of the *Gardener's Magazine* in 1834 to 1s. 6d., he hoped to expand his reading audience to include working gardeners, as well as patrons of gardens and women. This was the year that he started the serial publication of his *Arboretum Britannicum* at 2s. 6d. per number. In Chapter 4 the proliferation of the forms in which this work was sold and the breadth of readership has been documented. Intended for 'gentlemen of landed property', women were not targeted as part of the readership, although it was reviewed and advertised in a magazine addressed to female readers.⁵¹ In 1834 he also started another magazine, the *Architectural Magazine* (1834–39), which, unlike the *Arboretum*, was explicitly inclusive of male and female reading audiences, as was his (earlier) *Magazine of Natural History* (1828–36) and his *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (1832–33).⁵² As we have seen, the prices of both the *Architectural* and *Natural History Magazines*, at 2s. by 1835, was double that of the serially issued *Suburban Gardener* (1836–38), which was his first publication to advertise a female audience in its subtitle. With the losses of the *Arboretum* in 1838, the percentage agreement with Longman was terminated and John Loudon took over the publishing costs of the *Gardener's Magazine* in order to reap any profit from it. He continued as his own publisher with the *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton* (1840) and *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries* (1843), both intended for male reading audiences. The former was sold in 12 monthly numbers '2s. 6d. plain and 5s. 6d. coloured', whilst the latter was integrated into the *Gardeners Magazine* of 1843.⁵³ One section (on country churchyards) had been published in the *Suburban Gardener* five years earlier. The difference in pricing and distribution of these publications in completed form is marked. The Repton priced at 30s. plain (66s. coloured), provided a more permanent reference book for the landowning middle classes and the gentry.⁵⁴ In contrast, *Cemeteries and Churchyards* at 12s., was more time-bound and intended for niche audiences of local and national government (urban professionals). The

⁵⁰ See King and Plunkett, 1, p. 1.

⁵¹ *AFB*, 1, p. v. *The Court Magazine and Monthly Critic, and Lady's Magazine and Museum*, 12 (March 1838), 309–10 (13) (Aug 1838), 200–201.

⁵² *Natural History Magazine* had named women contributors.

⁵³ 'Catalogue of Works', *GM*, 15 (Aug 1839), 466–71 (466).

⁵⁴ See Ch. 4; this was considerably cheaper than the original prices for Repton's publications.

economics of production (difference in pagination and number of images) and differences of function are reflected in the price.⁵⁵

The body of John Loudon's work on gardens of the public sphere and the technical knowledge which informed it may have led, in practice, to a predominantly male readership, despite the inclusion of women as readers for a number of his publications. Webb Loudon diversified the spread of the Book Manufactory of Bayswater with her expansion into the market for a non-professional middle-class female reading audience.⁵⁶ Some of her publications, however, towards the end of the 1840s reach out to a female and male readership, in recognition, as Shtier has suggested, of 'midcentury beliefs about reading audiences, education, the place of science, modernity, and the literary marketplace'.⁵⁷

Jointly, the Loudons' publications, from 1830 to 1843, display considerable range. Single volumes, including pamphlets, vary from 1s. to 12s.⁵⁸ Serials generally ranged from between 1s. to 5s., with the prices of the completed volumes from £2 to £5 approximately, and the *Arboretum* exceptionally expensive at £10. The variety of forms and the volume of their publications constitute part of a wider trend in science publishing exemplifying, perhaps, part of 'a remarkable series of publishing experiments' referred to by James Secord, that took place in the 1830s.⁵⁹ On a small scale they practiced what had been initiated by Scottish publishers: the dissemination of material in multiple forms in order to reach the widest possible number of readers and to reap commercial advantage. The serial publication of works or the 'numbers trade', then, which had previously been 'looked down on by serious-minded publishers' as Weedon has argued, was practiced to great effect by the Loudons. The range of prices of their publications exemplifies the effectiveness of the practice which 'differentiated markets, spread the burden of the cost for the publisher (and customer) and had a profound effect on the consumption of the text'. The publications of the Book Manufactory of

⁵⁵ All publications named in this paragraph were 'printed for the Author' initially, that is, published by John Loudon, except for the magazines. Of the other works from 1830–43 the *Hortus Lignosus Londinensis* (1838) was published by him, the rest were published by Longman including, *Elementary Details of Pictorial Map Drawing* (London: Longman, 1830); Loudon's *Hortus Britannicus* (London: Longman, 1830); *Illustrations of Landscape-Gardening and Garden Architecture* (London: Longman, 1830–33) and 'The Derby Arboretum' (London: Longman, 1840). A new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, that ran from December 1833 to July 1835, at 2s. 6d. per monthly number was also published by Longman.

⁵⁶ None of her works was published by John Loudon.

⁵⁷ Shtier, *Cultivating Women*, p. 225.

⁵⁸ 'The Derby Arboretum' (London: Longman, 1840), 1s. is the cheapest pamphlet. Webb Loudon's *First Book of Botany* (London: George Bell, 1841) at 2s. is the cheapest 'book'.

⁵⁹ Secord, p. 48.

Bayswater might then be seen as at the forefront of a trend which was to become 'a flourishing practice by the 1840s'.⁶⁰

The Loudons mediated opportunities for women in the private sphere through their publications. Jane Webb Loudon was already a published author before her marriage, but the discourse of her publications changes after it. Her work with John Loudon also augmented her editorial experience. As the inclusiveness of John Loudon's readership in terms of gender, class and subject matter contracts after 1838, Webb Loudon expands the market with publications generally intended for women of the middling ranks, like herself, the subject matter of which fell into those categories in which women had historically acquired expertise. It is evident that Webb Loudon absorbed enough information to continue the production of gardening books and related topics after the death of John Loudon in December 1843. Her non-gardening titles follow the pattern of some other women writers who tended to specialise in educational publications for children about history, geography and natural history, as well as fiction.⁶¹ Her professional work and reputation enabled her to participate in the world beyond the home; she was a prolific named writer who achieved a degree of financial success, which helped support the Loudon family both before and after John Loudon's death.

'Struggling and constraint'? A Woman Editor at Work⁶²

It has been said that Webb Loudon empowered middle-class women through her garden discourse as 'she was able to negotiate the boundaries between the public and private spheres, yet remain within the bounds of middle-class decorum. [...] She helped transform the English garden into a place where women, particularly middle-class women, could exert increasing power and influence'.⁶³ In the final part of this chapter, I extend that argument and suggest that Webb Loudon was one of a number of women writers who helped to transform print media into an area in which women could operate as both producers and consumers.

In October 1849, at the age of 42, Jane Webb Loudon was appointed editor of a new 3d. (4d. stamped) weekly magazine for women – the *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad*, to appear in December.⁶⁴ Within six months its editor was replaced, within 18 months the magazine became a monthly, and by 1852 it had

⁶⁰ Weedon, *Victorian Publishing*, p. 76.

⁶¹ See Lightman on the publications, relations to publishers and the ideas of several Victorian female science writers, *Victorian Popularisers*, pp. 95–165.

⁶² 'What a life of struggling and constraint strain upon every faculty of mind and body it is to live by the pen' (Webb Loudon, Robinson Library, Special Collections, Newcastle University, MS.175/12, 24 April 1850).

⁶³ Schenker, 'Women, Gardens and the English Middle Class', p. 359.

⁶⁴ Hereafter, either *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad* or *Ladies Companion; LCHA* in brackets and footnotes.

merged with the *New Monthly Belle Assemblée* (1834–70)⁶⁵ and the *Ladies' Cabinet* (1832–52). Published by Bradbury and Evans, the *Ladies' Companion* was a 16-page, large-size publication with full-page plates in almost every number. It contained a mix of fiction and poetry, articles on the arts, decorative arts and fashion. Science and social questions appeared with reviews of books, concerts and exhibitions. Regular features included puzzles or games for children, the 'What-not' collection of aphorisms, and a 'Work-Basket' of sewing, knitting and crochet designs. The column 'My Letter Bag' consisted of correspondence between the editor and her readers.

A number of these elements correspond broadly to those in contemporary magazines intended for female readers. My argument is that under Webb Loudon's editorship a distinct alternative to rival titles was provided despite the difficulties faced by a woman editor in the period.

The combined factors of the price of the *Ladies' Companion*, *At Home and Abroad* and its weekly frequency suggest a new niche market for magazines that included women. Correspondence between the publishers indicates that this was the case, as William Bradbury notes, the unexpected success of *Eliza Cook's Journal* started in May 1849⁶⁶ and the existence of *Home Circle*⁶⁷ started in July the same year.⁶⁸ Both of these were 'family' weeklies that addressed women readers. Their low price of around one penny was based on the assumption of a weekly wage with little to spare for reading matter. Bradbury suggests that the price of the new title should be no more than 2d. The final 3d. weekly price agreed for the *Ladies' Companion* was higher than anticipated by the publishers and more than double its weekly rivals.

The price seems reasonable, however, in comparison with the high price of the liberal weeklies that had favourably reviewed and advertised the magazine.⁶⁹ The access of female readers to either the 6d. *Examiner* (1801–81) or the 9d. *Spectator* (1828–1925) was limited because of the relative poverty of women's spending power. For a target audience then, that might be composed of the wives and relations of the male readers of the *Spectator*, the 3d. weekly price of the *Ladies' Companion* makes sense.

The alternatives for wealthy women readers included the 1s. monthly magazines such as the *Ladies' Cabinet* or the *New Monthly Belle Assemblée*. A monthly version of the *Ladies' Companion* was also sold alongside the weekly

⁶⁵ *New Monthly Belle Assemblée* (London). Hereafter, *Belle Assemblée*, or *NMBA* in footnotes.

⁶⁶ *Eliza Cook's Journal* (London: John Owen Clarke (1849–51), Charles Cook (1851–54). Price, 1. 1/2d. Hereafter, *ECJ* in footnotes.

⁶⁷ *Home Circle* (London: W. S. Johnson, 1849–53). Price, 1d. Hereafter, *HC* in footnotes.

⁶⁸ See William Bradbury to Frederick Mullet Evans (Bodleian, MS. Eng. lett. d.396. fols 28–9). Thanks to Patrick Leary for informing me about the letter and its contents.

⁶⁹ *Examiner* (29 Dec 1849), 821; *Spectator*, 'New Periodical' (29 Dec 1849), 1238.

from its beginnings, but at 1s. 2d. it was more costly than its more aristocratic rivals. The publishers may have hoped that the liberal and serious-minded readers among the audience of ladies' monthlies might spend the extra 2d. in order to enjoy the different content of the *Ladies' Companion*. However, the subsequent rapid turnaround of the *Ladies' Companion* to conformity with the layout, size and range of departments of its more aristocratic competitors suggests that this audience failed to materialise in sufficient numbers for it to continue in its original form. My focus will be on the six month period of Webb Loudon's editorship. The practices of other publications referred to generally fall within the same time frame from December 1849 to June 1850.

As Beetham, Onslow, Brake and other commentators have noted, the production of the press before 1850 was largely a male preserve.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, for a small group of relatively educated women who had to work for a living, periodicals offered opportunities for employment. A handful of women became editors, largely through family connections. Christian Johnstone co-edited *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine* (1833–34) with her second husband, before it merged with *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (1834–46). Her editorship of the latter was not publicised. Though her work was admired by contemporaries, the price she paid for professional success was to be stigmatised for being divorced and childless. Mary Howitt jointly edited with her husband, William, *Howitt's Journal* (1847–48). Their only income was from writing, and despite Mary Howitt's best efforts, after 30 years of living by the pen, the family was still struggling financially. Mary Novello married Charles Cowden Clarke, her father's partner in a music and publishing business. Her editorship of the *Musical Times* from 1853 to 1856 originated through her family, although she was by then an experienced journalist better known as Mrs Cowden Clarke. She and her husband lived, like the Howitts, by the pen, but, perhaps because of his publishing business achieved greater wealth.

For most women, operating in the disreputable public sphere of journalism was accompanied by some loss of respectability. The position of single women unprotected by husband or family was, in general, an even more uncomfortable one, but they dealt with it in different ways. Caroline Norton, whose aristocratic connections might be expected to have insulated her, edited the *Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée* from 1832 to 1834. Obligated to support herself because of a difficult marriage, Norton became notorious due to her separation from her husband in 1835. Her writing on divorce made her even less respectable. Eliza Cook was an exception. An unmarried woman, she edited *Eliza Cook's Journal* from 1849 to 1854 and lived, happily it has been said, on her own terms. Her work as poet and journalist in conjunction with her short hair and 'unconventionally masculine attire' suggests that she may not have been part of conventional middle-class

⁷⁰ See Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, p. 21; Barbara Onslow, *Women of the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 2000), p. 37; Brake, *Print in Transition*, pp. 92–3; Fraser, et al., pp. 5–6.

society.⁷¹ Marian Evans (later George Eliot) whose editorship of the *Westminster Review* from 1852 to 1854 was not publicised,⁷² was compromised through her situation as a single woman living in the bohemian household of its publisher John Chapman. Eliza Lynn Linton, a leader writer of the *Morning Chronicle* for several years, achieved notoriety championing woman's rights and in attacking Victorian respectability. Her early work then put her outside polite society. Bessie Parkes maintained her respectability as she lived at home until her late marriage in 1867 at the age of 38. Her early journalism, however, may have been in order to contribute to the family coffers as she was the only surviving child. The personal wealth of Barbara Bodichon with whom Parkes launched the *English Woman's Journal* in 1858 was an exception to the rule that no middle-class woman normally worked for a living unless they had to.

Webb Loudon (1807–58), was of an earlier generation than George Eliot. The focus of her work as a young woman and writer of poetry and science fiction altered with her marriage to John Loudon. Bradbury and Evans were the printers of the *Ladies' Flower-Garden* series (1839–48) and of her short-lived *Ladies' Magazine of Gardening* (1841–42). By the late 1840s, 'Mrs Loudon' had become a well-established brand for middle-class women's publications and was familiar to Bradbury and Evans.

The company had, by this date, built themselves up into a formidable printing and publishing company.⁷³ They moved to new premises in 1833 and purchased a new steam-driven cylinder press that could produce 4,200 impressions an hour (similar to Applegarth and Cowper's machine, bought by *The Times* in 1827). This was, as Patrick Leary has observed, 'a very public investment in technical innovation and rapid, continuous production'.⁷⁴ They set themselves up to be printers of quality and volume with a particular interest in serials which would keep their machines busy. Specialists in the printing of images that included wood engraving and lithography, in addition to printing Webb Loudon's *Flower-Garden* series, they printed and published Paxton's *Magazine of Botany* (1834–49) both of which contained lithographic plates. Following the profits made from *Punch*, which they printed and subsequently brought in 1842, they were keen to repeat its success. The *Ladies' Companion* was but one of the weeklies they started at this time. Dickens's *Household Words* followed shortly afterwards in March 1850.

A number of those writers published by Bradbury and Evans were part of Webb Loudon's circle: the liberal garden writers and educationalists Joseph

⁷¹ Solveig C. Robinson, 'Cook Eliza (1812–1889)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) online edn, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6135> [accessed 29 Nov 2012].

⁷² See Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 92.

⁷³ See Patrick Leary about the beginnings of the firm's history in *The Punch Brotherhood: Table Talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London* (London: British Library, 2010), pp. 133–9.

⁷⁴ Leary, p. 135.

Paxton and John Lindley were her friends and, when John Loudon was alive, she had entertained Dickens and his family, the Willises, John Leech, Douglas Jerrold and Thackeray.⁷⁵ Her broad network of social connections may have been another factor favouring her appointment as an editor who would need to commission or develop contributions. The 'receptions' that she held for the *Ladies' Companion* at which woman journalists and artists could gather informally provide evidence of this process.⁷⁶ The publishers belief in the reputation of 'Mrs Loudon' to attract the volume and class of readers needed for commercial success is shown by the integration of her name into the masthead of the magazine shown in Figure 6.5.

The *Ladies' Companion*: Editor and Manifesto

The title of the *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad* echoed those of Webb Loudon's earlier publications with the inclusion of the not uncontested term 'ladies'. Its connotations with aspirations to respectability have been referred to earlier. However, the use of the term might also signal the reader as a relatively educated woman in contrast to the 'derogatory class identity'⁷⁷ and possible more sexualised connotations of 'woman'. By 1849, the distinction between 'women' and 'ladies', according to the *Athenaeum*, had become 'old-fashioned'.⁷⁸ The term, then, might have different meanings for readers of different classes and gender. The '*Companion*', also seen in Webb Loudon's earlier titles suggests that the magazine, with Mrs Loudon at the helm, might, in a deferential way, guide and protect the reader.

'Mrs Loudon' was the name that appeared on the masthead, but the majority of her contributions are signed with her initials 'J.W.L.', her journalistic signature since she had first started contributing to John Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* in the 1830s.⁷⁹ The manifesto, however, of the *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad*, a single column in small type which appeared from the second number weekly through January and again in mid February, and the more extended editorial statement that appeared in the first number of 29 December 1849, are signed 'J.W. Loudon'. This signature combines the authority and fame of the editor with Webb Loudon's identity as a journalist:

The want of a First Class Periodical adapted to the Tastes and Pursuits of Women having been constantly urged upon me, I have projected, with an earnest desire

⁷⁵ See Howe, p. 97.

⁷⁶ See Camilla Newton Crosland, *Landmarks of a Literary Life: 1820–1892* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1893), p. 186; Onslow, p. 30.

⁷⁷ Laurel Brake, Bill Bell and David Finklestein (eds), *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 5; Fraser et al., p. 63.

⁷⁸ 'Women versus Ladies', 'E.S.S.', *Athenaeum* (30 October 1847), 1128.

⁷⁹ The inclusion of the middle-name initial 'W.' may have been to distinguish her contributions from those of 'J.L.' her sister-in-law, Jane Loudon.



THE LADIES' COMPANION

At Home and Abroad.

EDITED BY MRS. LOUDON, ASSISTED BY THE MOST EMINENT WRITERS AND ARTISTS.

No. I.]

LONDON: SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1849.

{ PRICE 3d.
{ Stamped 4d.

RED RIDING HOOD'S DOLL.



THE Hon. Mrs. BAKER discoursed with her friend Mrs. Clarence, on the way to the — Bazaar. The Hon. Mrs. Baker was not in that placid mood that ordinarily made her the gentlest of gentlewomen. There was a shadow on her face, and her eyes that, like Gertrude's of Wyoming, usually shone as though they loved all things they looked upon, were clouded in their "blue heaven." The carriage rolled along, as over a carpeted road; and the Hon. Mrs. Baker, like a goddess on a cloud, reclined upon air-cushions. All things about her manifested wealth and luxury blended with extremest comfort: she was young, very handsome, and very — No; the Hon. Mrs. Baker no longer deemed herself very rich. Hence, the shadow, — hence, her look of sadness. For the first time in her life, the Hon. Mrs. Baker familiarised her thoughts with the possibility, the bare possibility, of straitened means. Want, like the colour of the negro, had appeared to her no more than an appointed inheritance; and the Hon. Mrs. Baker would, at one time, as soon have thought it possible to change the tint of her skin of pink and white to Ethiopian black, as to undergo any change of fortune. And now, strange misgivings — melancholy doubts played upon the heart-strings of the Hon. Mrs. Baker.

"What is it, my love? I never saw you under such a cloud before!" asked Mrs. Clarence, for the third time; and still Mrs. Baker made no answer; still from Mrs. Baker escaped a short, shivering sigh, significant of hidden grief. At length, much entreated, the unhappy Mrs. Baker revealed the causes of her woe.

"My dear, you know I never trouble myself about money matters—I always leave them to George; but really, things have now come to such a pass, that I should neglect the duty of a wife, did I not sympathise with the troubles that —"

"Troubles!" cried Mrs. Clarence. "Troubles in *your* house!" Mrs. Clarence would as soon have thought to hear of rattle-snakes.

"The money-market is now in such a state that, if things continue as they are, 'twill be impossible for us to go on." Thus spoke Mrs. Baker; with a certain majesty of woe.

"My dear Mary!" cried Mrs. Baker's friend.

"Quite true, my dear. You are perhaps not aware that at this moment" — and here Mrs. Baker deepened her voice for the intelligence — "at this moment, there are in the Bank—I have dear George's word for it—fourteen millions of money."

"Fourteen millions!" cried Mrs. Clarence, and her eyes sparkled.

"Yes, my dear," answered the saddened Mrs. Baker. "Fourteen millions. Money's quite a drug."

"Well, but doesn't some part of the fourteen millions belong to you? Is the plentifulness of money your grief?"

"My good creature," said the Hon. Mrs. Baker, with a gravity that rebuked the ignorant vivacity of Mrs. Clarence, "is it possible that you cannot perceive what George has made so dreadfully clear to me?" Mrs. Clarence pulled herself up—all attention. "Do you not at once understand that if money be so plentiful—if there be such a glut of gold (glut, my dear, is the word) in the market, that the interest upon money must fall? Why," said Mrs. Baker, with an appealing look at her friend—"why, we've already come to two per cent.; two per cent, my dear! Well, as we have always made it a point to live upon the interest of our money, never—never touching the principal—why, as George says, our income must fall too. Yes, my dear, if this glut continues, and George says it may increase, we must retrench—positively retrench. And, as I say, for this reason,—money's a drug."

"Dear me!" exclaimed Mrs. Clarence, raising her eyes as though to take in the whole picture of her friend's impending woe. And at this moment the carriage stopt at the Bazaar.

We shall not follow Mrs. Baker and her friend from stall to stall. Suffice it, that Mrs. Baker seemed, under the influence of the scene—her fancy appealed to by so many beautiful objects—to forget the probability of an increasing glut of gold and its accompanying distress,—for she laid out her money with the large heart of an empress. But then, it was close upon Christmas, and she must make presents to all and every of her household—a weakness, if it be one, pardonable in the Hon. Mrs. Baker.

However, even the time of shopping must end, and Mrs. Baker, with her purse still in her hand, and her good-natured eyes still wandering from counter to counter, slowly made her way to her carriage.

Mr. and Mrs. Baker dined alone. Although Mr. Baker feared that the glut must increase, nevertheless he seemed to contemplate the prospect with manly fortitude; and, in very good spirits, prepared himself for a game of billiards at the Club; leaving his resigned helpmate alone at her hearth. No; not alone—for she sat with all her holiday treasures about her. As yet, Baker had not seen the Christmas gift purchased for him—the children had not beheld their dolls; the maids had no thought of the brilliant cherry-coloured ribands that, on Christmas eve, should send them happy to their beds. After a while, these beautiful gifts were duly put away for the hour of presentation, and Mrs. Baker sank in her easy chair, seem-

Fig. 6.5

Masthead shows 'Mrs Loudon' as editor, *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad*, 1 (Dec 1849) © The British Library Board. Shelfmark. P.P. 5149. c

for the Improvement and Elevation of the Female Character, and in conjunction with some of the best names in Literature and Art – The Ladies' Companion At Home and Abroad.⁸⁰

Calling upon the past, a convention of addresses to readers, while hinting that the publishers approached her, the editor states the educational purpose of the magazine.

This overt intellectual appeal contrasts with that of Eliza Cook, whose enthusiasm for her readers to participate in the growth of knowledge is modestly stated more than halfway through her first address. The preference by Webb Loudon for the first person singular, also evident in her first editorial statement, might be read in terms of her personal involvement, ownership even, of the project. However, the device also suggests the vulnerability of the editor in relation to her readers, and feminises the editorial voice.⁸¹ The effect might be to draw in her female audience, as does the statement of her marital status 'Mrs Loudon' on the masthead. Eliza Cook also emphasises her vulnerability in relation to her readers, but, in contrast to 'Mrs Loudon', her status as single woman is advertised on the masthead. This may have been to draw in less wealthy and unmarried female readers, as well as, perhaps, not to put off working-class male readers. Her address, entitled 'A Word to My Readers', clearly indicates her editorial status and contrasts with Webb Loudon's invisibility whose first editorial statement is untitled. Moreover, Cook favours the possessive plural throughout her address, which it has been argued, is commonly associated with the masculine voice.⁸² She does, however, describe her position as editor and her relationship with her contributors in domestic terms: 'I shall have a host of friends at my board'.⁸³ Webb Loudon, whilst collaborative, maintains professional distance.

The manifesto of the *Ladies' Companion* outlines the ways in which the 'female character' might be improved, principally through 'mental cultivation'.⁸⁴ Its remit is an elastic one through which Webb Loudon extends women's access to knowledge within the respectability of the private sphere. Initially distinguished from the superficiality of social accomplishments, the 'mental cultivation' acquired by reading the *Ladies' Companion* will help to make women more useful to their families and to the wider community. The academic or technical knowledge that men acquire and which forms the basis of their economic power is a different aspect, as is the ability to interact with men without upsetting them, and knowledge which will not penetrate 'the depths of profound learning'.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ *LCHA*, 1 (5 Jan 1850), 29.

⁸¹ It might be that her editorial style looks back to the reformist periodicals of a few years earlier such as *Howitt's*, which, as Easley has pointed out, 'explicitly identified women writers as key players in the dissemination of diverse forms of knowledge which spanned both public and private spheres' (Easley, p. 82).

⁸² See Fraser et al., p. 98.

⁸³ 'A Word to my Readers', *ECJ*, 1 (5 May 1849), 1.

⁸⁴ *LCHA*, 1 (5 Jan 1850), 29.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

The magazine was a secular publication, as were *Eliza Cook's Journal* and *Home Circle*. A number of periodicals intended for women readers such as the *Christian Lady's Magazine* (1834–49) were not. The Christian model of self-sacrifice and female modesty which religious magazines for women upheld was endorsed to varying degrees by their secular counterparts, and by the *Ladies' Companion*. This might, in part, be a reflection of the editor's experience as carer for her widowed father from the age of 12, and later for her invalid husband. Equally this principle was also perhaps, built into socialist movements like Owenism, which John Loudon had supported. Webb Loudon's position, however, is quite distinct from contemporary cries by radical Chartism for universal suffrage and has more in common with *Eliza Cook's Journal* and the reformist liberal weeklies' arguments for an educated electorate.

Domestic Labour and Employment

The specifically female audience Webb Loudon addresses contrasts with the general reader of both *Home Circle* and *Eliza Cook's Journal*.⁸⁶ The development of 'mental cultivation' underpins the significant role women play in the private sphere. This might be as important as that of men in contributing towards a stable society but will not receive public recognition or the financial reward that men derive from their work in the public sphere. She explains in the first editorial statement,

The necessity of mental cultivation will be strongly enforced; not to make women usurp the place of men, but to render them rational and intelligent beings. The paths of men and women are quite different; and though both have duties to perform, of perhaps equal consequence to the happiness of the community, these duties are quite distinct.⁸⁷

Her appeal is to a broad readership of women, including wives from the upper classes and the middle classes who have as few as up to three servants. This was the position of the editor's own household at the time. In contrast, the editors of *Home Circle* intend to provide improving material for poorer readers, who are the uneducated 'other'.⁸⁸ Eliza Cook, addressing an audience that included working-class readers, suggests that they are her old friends through their acquaintance with her earlier work. Webb Loudon does not mention friendship. Her emphasis,

⁸⁶ 'Then there were those magazines which [...] often specifically addressed themselves to "the family reader" as female readers were euphemistically called' (Fraser et al., p. 63).

⁸⁷ *LCHA*, 1 (29 Dec 1849), 8.

⁸⁸ See 'Address', *HC*, 1 (1849), iii–iv. The editor was Pierce Egan, but the plural voice of the first address suggests a collective team of women editors (see Fraser et al., pp. 106–7).

however, on those readers who are not wives, who lack the financial support of male relations and who may have to work for a living, suggests that she and her readers have much in common. Wealthier readers of the magazine are called upon to provide support for such women either as employers or in providing means of distributing their work. In the manifesto Webb Loudon emphasises again, 'One important feature of this work will be to Advocate the Causes of those Females who are Compelled to Labour, either mentally or bodily'.⁸⁹ Within an agenda that endorses separate spheres, then, the economic consequences for women are discussed within a 'factual' framework.

In contrast, the dire conditions of 'female' occupations of governesses in the *New Monthly Belle Assemblée*, for example, are generally approached through fiction, or poetry, if at all.⁹⁰ Both *Home Circle* and *Eliza Cook's Journal*, similarly priced at around 1d. and addressing poorer readers might perhaps be expected to participate in the discourse of women's employment. For *Home Circle* there is one article by Mrs Newton Crosland on 'Working Gentlewomen' of July 1849, but no reference in the first address to readers.⁹¹ The unemployment of women does form part of the radical remit of *Eliza Cook's Journal* and possible new occupations in printing and design are discussed.⁹² However, even Cook does not mention the issue in her original address to readers. Webb Loudon's explicit focus on the difficulties faced by women who had to work for a living, though woven into private sphere discourse in order to not alienate her middle-class readers, predates that of the *English Woman's Journal*, started in 1858, by almost a decade.

The *Ladies' Companion* itself provided women writers and artists with opportunities for freelance work. More than 50 per cent of the named contributors to the magazine under Webb Loudon's editorship were women. These included Miss Frances Browne, Mrs James Whittle, Sarah Tomlinson, Georgina C. Munro and Mrs Ann Marsh (the anonymous author of 'Lettice Arnold'), all writers of fiction. Poets included Florence Wilson, Dora Greenwell, Miss (Louise) Costello, Elizabeth Willoughby Treacy, Annette Blashford and Mrs Newton Crosland (Camilla Toulmin). Other women contributed articles on European history and legend, including Julia Kavanagh, Elizabeth Cookson, Mrs Percy (Jane) Sinnett and Mary Cowden Clarke. This list reflects the pool of women writers available for female discourse in the period.⁹³

'J.W.L.' herself wrote short reviews across a wide cultural spectrum of theatre, concerts, books and floral fetes, some of which were anonymous, with longer, signed pieces on social issues, science (botany) and aesthetics. 'Miss Acton' contributed recipes, but the majority of contributions to the more practical and

⁸⁹ *LCHA*, 1 (5 Jan 1850), 29. Howe, p. 113.

⁹⁰ 'By the 1840s the magazine was abandoning sentimental stories to embrace the realistic school of domestic fiction' (Onslow, p. 140).

⁹¹ *HC*, 1 (21 July 1849), 41–2.

⁹² See 'Employment of Young Women', *ECJ*, 2 (5 Jan 1850), 145–7.

⁹³ Onslow has shown the range of occupations of women who worked in the press.

domestic departments, including fashion, were anonymous and probably authored by women. Also anonymous were the numerous engravings featured in the magazine, some of which were also produced (drawn and engraved) by women. To a degree, then, a network of financial support (though not a regular salary) was created by a publication whose subject matter was largely determined by gender.

A more prevalent approach in the press to employment provision for women was the principle of emigration. According to *Eliza Cook's Journal*, emigration should be considered because the men who emigrate need servants, housekeepers or wives. The elision of wife with servant is assumed. The full title of the *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad* enlists the British and the colonial reader. There are, however, diverse responses to the topic reflecting its focus on the interests of single women, as well as competing arguments about life in the colonies. The fiction 'Red Riding Hood's Doll' refers to 30,000 barren women, who, because they are unable to earn money for themselves, are unable to buy food. The author implies that if every wealthy woman reader contributes £15, the costs to transport each poor single woman to the colonies where food and single men are plentiful, could be paid for.⁹⁴

The natural resources and the maternal promise of the colonial garden are also invoked by Horace Mayhew in his review of 'Mr Bree's Panorama' of New Zealand.⁹⁵ The emptiness of landscape scenes featuring single habitations and the Anglican Church at Wellington (not shown) support the text. They suggest that New Zealand is a reassuring middle-class place that awaits fecund Christian women to help populate it. Again maternity rather than paid employment is what is on offer here. In common with the original 'panorama', both fiction and essay play down the harsh conditions of the emigrants' journey and their lives in the colonies, as well as the presence of native populations.

In contrast to some of her contributors, Webb Loudon argues against emigration. She features a wood engraving of a painting by W. S. Burton, 'The Emigrant Girl' (Figure 6.6), to suggest the desolation and resignation of the female emigrant. Moreover, she points out,

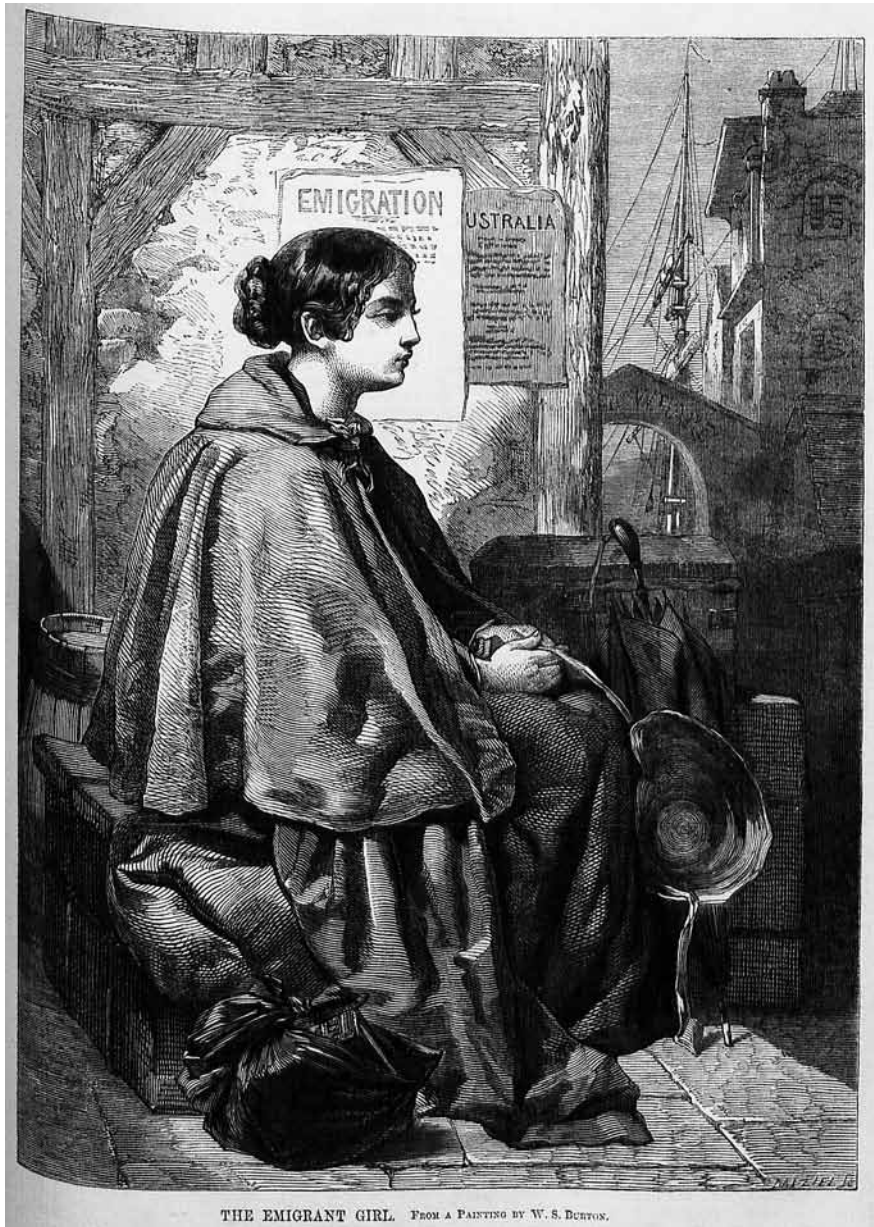
For, by emigration, all the minute and tender ties which bind a young girl to her home – woman's truest resting-place – are torn asunder, and all her best and holiest feelings are trampled upon. The dread with which emigration is regarded by young women generally, was lately forcibly exemplified, when nearly three hundred girls, who had been thrown out of employment by the burning of a manufactory, refused to emigrate 'as long as they could get any employment in their own country'.⁹⁶

Men can move away and bear the loss of home; women, in contrast, are bound to home and home country, and the ideas of Britain as the domestic 'home' and the

⁹⁴ *LCHA*, 1 (29 Dec 1849), 1–3 (3).

⁹⁵ *LCHA*, 1 (19 Jan 1850), 50–52 (50).

⁹⁶ 'Distressed Needlewomen', *LCHA*, 1 (18 May 1850), 328.



THE EMIGRANT GIRL. FROM A PAINTING BY W. S. BURTON.

Fig. 6.6 'The Emigrant Girl', engraving of a painting by W. S. Burton, *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad*, 1 (2 March 1850), pl. opp. 136 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 5149. c

colonies as its garden, are perpetuated. The feminine identity of women, which will be violated by emigration, might, however, remain intact if provided with a safe working environment. Webb Loudon argues instead for improvements in working conditions for women in Britain. The reference to current events exemplifies her incorporation of 'news' elements into the magazine and contrasts with the practices of her competitors who avoided it to escape stamp tax.⁹⁷ This may have been a reason for the lack of news coverage in *Home Circle*, for example.

The appearance of a stamped edition of the *Ladies' Companion* suggests great confidence on the part of Bradbury and Evans that there would be enough readers who would pay to receive the paper by mail. At one penny a sheet, the expense of printing on stamped paper (the stamp tax) was considerable. Stamped editions were, despite the extra cost, generally an advantage to a paper or periodical as it allowed them to be sent by post to subscribers without extra payment, and to be re-mailed. In this way it might significantly extend their circulation and influence.⁹⁸

Pedagogy: Female Connoisseur

A review in the *Spectator* was favourable: the *Ladies' Companion* was 'a handsome looking quarto journal, containing about as much type as the literary weeklies [...] while Mrs Loudon offers a better-looking paper with wood-cuts for threepence'.⁹⁹ The *Examiner* also notes that 'it is printed and illustrated with much elegance and taste'.¹⁰⁰ This reflects the unusual design for a women's periodical at this date. At 19 x 27 cm, it displayed a variety of typographic devices. Containing an average of 20 per cent of illustrated material per number (at least one full plate, with generally additional $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ plates, and up to six $\frac{1}{4}$ plates) the magazine was more varied in terms of visual presentation than its competitors. For example while the *New Monthly Belle Assemblée* in the period contained illustrations, they constituted under 5 per cent of the total number of pages of each issue. Their character too was different: stylised coloured fashion plates coexisted with portraits of female figures that were occasionally more exotic, playful or dramatic. In general, however, the

⁹⁷ This was a tax on newspapers and periodicals that appeared at intervals of less than 28 days which covered the news. Jeffrey A. Auerbach argues that the tax 'provided a disincentive for so-called women's magazines to cover domestic and foreign news, politics and public affairs. In order to avoid the tax they tended to focus on dress, consumer goods, and manners' ('What They Read: Mid-Nineteenth Century English Women's Magazines and the Emergence of a Consumer Culture', *VPR*, 30.2 (Summer 1997), 121–40 (135).

⁹⁸ See Leary, p. 147.

⁹⁹ *Spectator* (29 Dec 1849), 1238; Howe, p. 113. Both, Thornton Hunt, part editor of the *Spectator* and John Forster (editor of the *Examiner*) are referred to in Agnes Loudon diaries as part of Webb Loudon's circle. Reference to the diaries is made with the kind permission of Brian Spofforth, descendant and holder of Agnes Loudon's diaries.

¹⁰⁰ *Examiner* (29 Dec 1849), 821.

visual material of the *Belle Assemblée* combined to represent an ideal of slim, elegant womanhood with a dutiful nod to Anglicanism via church topography.

Amongst the cheaper weekly family magazines, *Eliza Cook's Journal* had no illustrations at all. For *Home Circle* in the period, the images are almost exclusively of needlework patterns. All of these magazines intended for or including female readers are smaller in shape than the initial format of the *Ladies' Companion*, whose design has more in common with *Punch*, another Bradbury and Evans publication. *Punch* was also a 3d. weekly, whose innovative page design was its distinctive feature, and its publisher's most commercially successful periodical. The size of both titles is approximately the same, whilst illustrations are a significant element. The principle of decorative capitals at the start of some articles is another common feature; those for *Punch* are generally humorous, while those for the *Ladies' Companion* are either article specific, as in Figure 6.7 (with Maori figure) or 'medievalised'. The general absence of humour from the visual material of the *Ladies' Companion* suggests that it was considered incompatible with representations of middle-class womanhood.

With just one-half to two-thirds of a page devoted to fashion illustration, Webb Loudon generally eschews what she might have considered as the frivolity of fashion exemplified by the coloured plates featured in the ladies' monthlies. She argues, instead, for a broader aesthetic educational remit for the magazine. In an article featuring engravings from an 'Exhibition of Works of Ancient and Medieval Art', she states,

The cultivation of female taste is an object I have long had at heart; and as it is one of the principal points I have in view in this work, I am most anxious to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, of giving actual examples of the principles I am trying to impress upon my readers'.¹⁰¹

As editor and as aesthete, her tone might reflect that she knows more than her readers. However, she conforms to expectations of the feminine voice with the focus on the heart, the site of emotion, as the basis for her inclusion of aesthetics in the pages of the magazine. The engraving of Figure 6.8 displays furnishings from the exhibition held by the Society of Fine Arts intended to be studied by artisans. Webb Loudon argues that similar study will benefit her female readers. The application of principles of taste to objects for use in the home is predicated on the possession of leisure and money. In the *Ladies' Companion*, moral value, previously located in nature and high art, is transferred to manufacture, craftsmanship and taste, exemplifying their intersection and their availability to the middle-class consumer.

The pedagogic drive of the magazine is demonstrated by the 'Picture Gallery' department. This was the regular appearance of a full-page plate of works of art by contemporary British artists or lesser known works of old masters. The department was not weekly as Webb Loudon had promised, but it was one which continued

¹⁰¹ *LCHA*, 1 (6 April 1850), 216–9 (216).

CALENDAR FOR THE ENSUING WEEK.

Jan. 20	1850.	
21	S. Sund. aft. Epiphany.	Lessons { Matt. xiv. 1-12; 1 Cor. ii. 1-5.
22	M. Louis XVI. guillotined, 1793.	
23	T. St. Vincent the Martyr, 304.	
24	W. { Queen Elizabeth dedicated the Royal Exchange, then called "Britain's Bazaar," by sound of trumpet, on the afternoon of this day, 1571.	
25	Th. Frederick the Great born, 1712.	
26	F. { St. Paul's Day. On this day prognostications of the months were formerly drawn for the whole year.	
26	S. Jenner, introducer of vaccination, died, 1823.	

The Ladies' Companion.



LONDON: JANUARY 19, 1850.

A MORNING VISIT TO NEW ZEALAND.



GOING from Leicester Square to New Zealand is but the journey of a minute. You jump over 16,000 miles of foaming ocean by running up a flight of stairs!

Travelling, now-a-days, is as easy as wishing. For instance, you wish yourself in Vienna. Mr. Barford will take you there for a shilling. You desire to see how shawls are made: the same gentleman will transport you to the lovely valley of Cashmere, and land you safely in your carriage again, in less time than you take to run through the morning newspaper.

Again, the fancy seizes you to visit the Mississippi. Nothing easier. You have only to call on Mr. Banvard, at the Egyptian Hall, and he will gratify your desire to the utmost extent. The same with the Nile. Mr. Bonomi will hand you to the summit of the great pyramid, with less fatigue than you could walk to the top of Primrose-hill. Cook took three years to sail round the world. An English lady can walk round it now any day, "from ten in the morning until dusk," by going the round of the London Exhibitions.

Travelling will shortly be done away with. Persons will see the folly of going abroad, and being imposed upon, when they can travel so much more comfortably by remaining at home. Where, pray, is the necessity of going to the Sphinx, when the Sphinx comes so obligingly to us?

The latest civility of this kind is on the part of New Zealand,—a country that comes amongst us for the first time, but with the best letter of introduction a country could bring,—that of a beautiful face. Such handsome courtesy, we thought, demanded some small return from us; and accordingly we repaid the civility, by calling upon New Zealand at the earliest opportunity.

We found New Zealand at home, on the first floor of Saville House, next door to Miss Linwood's, in Leicester Square; and a gentleman of the name of Mr. Brees, without any ceremony, introduced us to our new visitor. She was dressed out to receive us in all her beauty; and for the two hours we remained in her presence, we had ample time to study, and to admire, with all our senses, her

lovely features. It was the most agreeable—the most instructive—morning call we have paid for a long time.

In answer to our inquiries, we were informed by New Zealand that her object in coming amongst us was to display her resources, to make a parade of her wealth, to show, in the most captivating manner, the boundless riches and natural advantages she possessed.

"Do not imagine, however," she said, with a look that was the picture of honesty, "that my motive is one of vanity or ostentation. I come not to be envied, but to be admired. I travel with all my wealth—with my mines, and forests, and lakes, and rivers—to induce others to follow me. I have enough, and plenty to spare, for all. I do not even know the extent of my own riches yet; but this I know, that I don't wish to keep them, like a miser, to myself, but shall be too happy to share them with whomsoever comes to me for help—to feed the hungry children of want who cannot gain their daily bread in their own country—to give those a good home who never knew what a home was before—in short, to welcome the poorest, behaving to them all like a kind stepmother, in the place of the mother country whose loss they were mourning. Let them come in thousands—I have room for all—and old and young shall never regret the affection they bestow upon me. As they love me, so will I love them; for it is my generous nature to repay a hundred-fold each little act of love I receive. Ingratitude does not dwell in the bosom of the earth. Mine especially is free from it. A few grains of kindness from the hands of man, and he shall be repaid by a rich harvest springing at his feet. The goodness he sows he shall most abundantly reap."

There was a pause of struggling emotion, and then a long painful silence. At last, after arraying herself in the mirror of one of her own lakes, she said, with a look of pride that enhanced her maiden beauty, "Follow me, and you shall judge how rich I am, and shall no longer wonder at my wishing such inexhaustible riches to be enjoyed by the many, instead of the few."

We looked on with wondering, admiring eyes. Following slowly, we were led through a panorama as fertile as it was beautiful. Scene succeeded scene, in which Plenty was only waiting to be gathered. Abundance was bursting from the earth,—the trees were laden with wealth, and over all the loving Sun cast such a golden hue, as seemed in our eyes to transform the whole country into a second California,—but a California weeded of all gold, excepting such as sprang in due season from the "diggings" of Industry. The only "cradle" we saw in so young and fair a California was the one in which Innocence slept, and not the "cradle" in which Avarice keeps awake all night to guard its bag of gold.

Large tracts of land, unoccupied, unowned, but most beautiful, even in their barrenness, lay before us. There were flowers and shrubs as tall as trees, and towering giants of trees that shrunk the proud British oak into a spare, sickly sapling, and almost seemed to pierce the heavens with their leafy steeples. There were bays already planned by Nature for harbours, and innumerable rivers that ran through the entire body of the country, like so many veins, to carry the life-blood from its remotest extremity to the heart. There was wealth abounding in every direction, but scarce a soul to pick it up. There was food in the greatest abundance, but only wild beasts to eat it.

The Panorama closed, and the same cheering voice was heard as before. The most silvery music rang in every word—it was the music of benevolence. "Tell me," the music said, "am I wrong to display my wealth, when I do it to instil confidence? I do it, so that every one may know exactly what I am, before they trust themselves to me. You see I have a home ready for thousands, if they will but seek it. I am told that many a suffering creature, who has hitherto only looked at life through the gaunt fingers of starvation, intends to leave her native country. Let her come to me. She shall find, under my heavenly roof, a soft pillow upon which to rest her aching head,

Fig. 6.7

Maori as drop cap 'G', *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad*, 1 (19 Jan 1850), 50 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 5149. c



Fig. 6.8 The study of art and design will benefit female readers, *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad*, 1 (6 April 1850), pl. opp. 217 © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 5149. c

for six months after her editorship had ceased. She featured wood engravings from George Dodgson, James Sant and Frank Stone alongside those of ‘old masters’ Corregio, Parmigiano and Guido. The portrait of the ‘Emigrant Girl’ (Figure 6.6) was part of this series. In this way Webb Loudon anticipates the educational mission of the ‘family literary magazines’ of the following decades. Her paper, like these later magazines, becomes, as Jennifer Phegley has observed, ‘a strong advocate for cultural experiences that are beyond its pages and that extend its own project of bringing culture to the vast range of the middle classes, particularly to women’.¹⁰² Webb Loudon also takes the opportunity to promote the work of female artists as she attests to the genius and taste of the first illustration under the ‘Picture Gallery’ head (not shown) by an anonymous woman of high rank.¹⁰³

In an earlier number of the magazine, however, Webb Loudon had played down the power of her role as aesthete or connoisseur by decisively gendering ‘taste’:

There is nothing in which female vulgarity is more clearly shown than in a want of taste. This is an axiom that I think will not admit of any dispute; but it is a question how far taste is natural, and how far it may be acquired. [...] Men may be, and probably are, superior to women in all that requires profound thought and general knowledge; but in the arrangement of a house, and the introduction of ornamental furniture, and articles of bijouterie, there can be no doubt of the innate superiority of women.¹⁰⁴

The location of taste as the natural property of women that originates with maternity is, Lori Merish has argued, a construction with ‘complex political and social effects’ that generally upholds male authority and power.¹⁰⁵ Merish equates taste with ‘sentimental ownership’ and suggests that it effectively internalises consumption and ensures that women become active players in economic growth through demand. It mediates life for middle-class women in the home and at the same time ensures their loyalty towards a structure that might be fundamentally detrimental towards their own enlightenment and autonomous economic power.

Alternatively, as Linda Hughes has pointed out, tensions arise for a woman editor as aesthete because the role combines the cultural authority of the male connoisseur with the cultural marginality of the female role in the home.¹⁰⁶ Webb Loudon negotiates the divide by emphasising the domestic aspect in this article of 5 January. At the same time she implies that her publication will provide readers with the means to acquire the unostentatious and reasonable culture of the middle

¹⁰² Phegley, p. 17.

¹⁰³ ‘The Babes in the Wood’, *LCHA*, 1 (26 Jan 1850), 64.

¹⁰⁴ ‘On the Influence of Female Taste’, *LCHA*, 1 (5 Jan 1850), 19.

¹⁰⁵ Morish, *Sentimental Materialism: Gender, Commodity Culture and Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ See ‘A Female Aesthete at the Helm: *Sylvia’s Journal* and “Graham R. Tomson”, 1893–1894’, *VPR*, 29.2 (Summer 1996), 173–92 (173).

classes that is distinct from the opulence of the very wealthy, and the deprivation of the poor.¹⁰⁷

The elision of 'female vulgarity' with 'want of taste' invokes class differences. Two weeks later, in response to a reader who suggested that taste was the exclusive marker of wealth, Webb Loudon naturalises taste. She suggests that it is independent of income as the humble cottage dweller may also possess 'feelings of refinement'.¹⁰⁸ The idea that taste might benefit the whole nation was current in the period. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Reynolds had argued in favour of the democratisation of taste in his Royal Academy lectures, and the idea was later developed by Matthew Arnold in *Culture and Anarchy* of 1869. In addressing female readers on questions of taste, then, Webb Loudon places women at the centre of the process in which the naturalising of middle-class culture would benefit the nation whilst also expanding women's sphere of influence.

Pedagogy: Science for Women

Science had been a distinctive mark of Webb Loudon's garden publications, so it is not surprising that under her editorship the *Ladies' Companion* should specialise in this field. She commissioned qualified male experts David Ansted – professor of geology at the University of London and Mr Edward Solly (FRS), who trained as a chemist and was linked to the Horticultural Society and the Royal Institution, to write about general science, whilst Dr Edwin Lankester (MD., FRS), fellow of the Linnaean Society and the Royal Society (with a lectureship at the prestigious Grosvenor Place Medical School), advised on domestic science. Both Ansted and Lankester exemplify metropolitan figures involved in science who boosted their income with science journalism. Lankester (1814–74), doctor, health reformer and natural historian, suggests that the time when any class can claim a monopoly on knowledge will soon be over. He hopes to enlighten his female readers, while at the same time implying that their ignorance might lead to the illness or death of their children. The language he will use will not be that of domesticity but of science, based on the four elements, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen.¹⁰⁹ For *Home Circle*, Dr J. H. Horne advises mothers on the medical care of their children and the elderly. His column, 'Household Treasures', does not, however, provide chemical analysis. Instead, he offers practical tips that extend to the kitchen and the bedroom: 'Liniment for Rheumatism, Lumbago, or Old Sprains', 'Scouring Drops, for Removing Grease Spots from Cloths' and how to make 'Tomato Sauce' are all included.¹¹⁰ Occasionally, the 'Household Treasures' column appears next to

¹⁰⁷ Jennifer Phegley makes a similar point in relation to family literary magazines of the 1860s.

¹⁰⁸ 'My Letter-Bag', *LCHA*, 1 (19 Jan 1850), opp. 56.

¹⁰⁹ See 'Household Philosophy: Letter on Diet', *LCHA*, 1 (26 Jan 1850), 62–3 (62).

¹¹⁰ *HC*, 1 (11 August 1849), 95.

his 'Hints to Servants', and the distinction between the medical and the practical, and the reader as mistress or as servant is clearly made.¹¹¹

The precision of the sometimes weekly, fairly regular appearance of the recipes of 'Miss Acton' in the *Ladies' Companion* differs from the vague (and infrequent) cooking instructions of Dr Horne of *Home Circle*. Miss Acton's recipes anticipate the clear organisation and precise measurements of the recipe column featured in the early years of the Beeton's *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* launched in 1852. In the numbers I have seen of the *Belle Assemblée* from December 1849 to June 1850, recipes have no place, nor do those skills which combine leisure and practical knowledge for the running of the home. In contrast, a method of cleaning lace collars made of 'La Frivolité' and instructions for knitted mittens and a baby's crochet hood are featured in the 'Work-basket' department of the *Ladies' Companion*.¹¹² The 'Accomplishments for Ladies' department of *Home Circle* published similar material. Once again the *Ladies' Companion* addresses a new niche market between the elite and leisured readership of the ladies' monthlies and the less wealthy practitioners of 'Domestic Economy' included in the subtitle of *Home Circle*: 'A Magazine of Literature, Science, Domestic Economy, Arts, Practical Information, General Knowledge and Entertainment'.¹¹³ The issue of managing servants is raised in all three publications; however, the absence of some of the more physically demanding servant duties (outlined by Horne in *Home Circle*) in the *Belle Assemblée* and the *Ladies' Companion* is suggestive of their wealthier target audience.

Science had a place in the ladies' monthlies as Auerbach has noted in his survey of women's magazines.¹¹⁴ James Secord has suggested that science offered women 'a route to moral regeneration' and so its presence in a magazine that addressed women readers should be no surprise.¹¹⁵ More recently, Shteir has argued that although science discourse was current throughout the first half of the nineteenth century to varying degrees of complexity in women's magazines, it is generally portrayed 'as serviceable to women, either because it contributes to moral improvement or because it has application to women's domestic lives'.¹¹⁶

The *New Monthly Belle Assemblée* published science in the form of excerpts from other sources exemplified by the review of 'Whewell's Astronomy and General Physics' of January 1849, followed by the 'Innate Exhibition of Instinct'

¹¹¹ *HC*, 1 (21 July 1849), 47.

¹¹² See 'Mode of Washing Collars Made of La Frivolité', in 'Work-Basket', *LCHA*, 1 (5 Jan 1850), 26; 'Knitted Mittens', *ibid.* (27 April 1850), 287; 'A Baby's Crochet Hood', *ibid.* (20 April 1850), 270. La Frivolité is a French form of 'Tattooing'.

¹¹³ *HC*, 1 (7 July 1849), 1.

¹¹⁴ Auerbach, *VPR*, 30:2 (Summer 1997), 121–40 (123).

¹¹⁵ Secord, p. 163.

¹¹⁶ Shteir, 'Green-Stocking or Blue?', p. 5.

from Sir Humphrey Davy in February.¹¹⁷ Coverage is similarly perfunctory amongst the cheaper weeklies that addressed women readers such as *Home Circle*. 'Familiar Illustrations of Astronomy' of 19 January 1850, by Charles Adams, demonstrated how to work out the diurnal revolutions of the sun through mathematical equations. Information on experiments in hydraulics of a week earlier are, however, situated within the 'Column for Studious Youth', signalling boy readers rather than women.¹¹⁸ In the series 'Popular Science', which ran from July to September 1849, physics and chemistry are, in general, linked to domesticity. In scope and in proportion to the rest of the content, 'hard' or abstract science not connected to either domesticity or female pursuits such as botany, formed a very small percentage of the discourse of all three of these publications that addressed women readers.

'Hard' science was a significant part of the discourse of cheap magazines for working men exemplified by the long-established *Mechanics' Magazine* and family weeklies such as *Chambers's*, with its lower-middle-class readers. Science coverage in *Eliza Cook's Journal* falls into this category even though women readers are addressed. Through biographies of scientists, such as that of William Herschel, astronomy is covered in depth.¹¹⁹ The chemical properties of photography are discussed in 'Daguerre and his Successors'.¹²⁰ An article on 'Earthquake Waves', however, provided a dramatic historical account of tidal waves, rather than scientific analysis.¹²¹ A weekly series on 'Geological Outlines', throughout December, incorporated technical terms to describe the ages of the earth. The series 'Science in the Kitchen' that ran from April 1850 is comparable with Lankester's chemical approach to the home in the *Ladies' Companion*. Science, then, forms a significant element of the contents of *Eliza Cook's Journal*, in contrast to the aristocratic ladies' monthlies and *Home Circle*, but this might be partly because male readers are also being addressed.

The *Ladies' Companion* strongly endorses the value of 'hard' science for its upper-middle-class female readers. In the first number of 29 December 1849, Dr Solly argues that society now accepts that scientific knowledge and womanhood are not incompatible: 'A lady at the present time is not ashamed to know the botanic name of a plant, or the difference between the metal Mercury and the planet of that name'.¹²² Listed in the 'Calendar for the Ensuing Week' in the same first number are lectures at the Royal Institution on 'Circumcision', one of three on 'Natural Philosophy', along with a new series of science lectures at the Polytechnic

¹¹⁷ 'Our Earth', in 'Our Conservatory', *NMBA*, 26 (Jan 1849), 50–51 (51); 'Innate Exhibition of Instinct', in 'Our Conservatory', *NMBA*, 26 (Feb 1849), 115.

¹¹⁸ *HC*, 2 (12 Jan 1850), 30

¹¹⁹ See 'Biographic Sketch: Sir William Herschel', *ECJ*, 2 (11 May 1850), 19–22.

¹²⁰ See *ECJ*, 2 (8 June 1850), 93–5.

¹²¹ See *ECJ*, 2 (20 Sep 1850), 348–9.

¹²² 'Letters on the Chemistry of Every Day Life', *LCHA*, 1 (29 Dec 1849), 12.

Institution.¹²³ Five entries on entomology were published in subsequent numbers, while Webb Loudon herself authored the series of 15 articles on botany.¹²⁴ The latter subjects were amongst the softer sciences accessible to middle-class women, but science in the *Ladies' Companion* under Webb Loudon's editorship is broad-based and is promulgated as part of polite female culture.

Ansted, Solly and Lankester integrate scientific principles with Christian beliefs. They also preface their series of articles with homage to 'My dear Mrs Loudon', framing them within the feminine domain. Readers responded with enthusiasm, suggesting that there was a hunger among some women for non-trivialised scientific knowledge. Webb Loudon apologises that she is unable to devote more column space to the subject: 'I do not think, however, that all my readers would like articles on dress and work omitted, to make more room for science'.¹²⁵ She is not suggesting that fashion and domesticity are more important to the majority of her readers. Rather, they might feel uncomfortable if there is too much science. Her comment indicates the tensions arising out of the scope of her ambitions for the magazine to include the public sphere of scientific knowledge within gendered domestic discourse.

Trouble

By mid January, and less than a month of initial publication, Bradbury and Evans had employed three subeditors, possibly the result of the hectic schedule for Webb Loudon of editing a weekly.¹²⁶ The publishers had, however, been known to interfere before with the editorial process, notably in relation to Charles Dickens, the briefly appointed editor of the *Daily News* in 1845.¹²⁷ By mid February, after the publication of only seven weekly numbers of the *Ladies' Companion*, Frederick Mullet Evans had a meeting with Webb Loudon. He proposed that, in the light of a fall in circulation, Taylor, her most recent subeditor, should take over as editor whilst her name would remain on the masthead.¹²⁸

In 1850 Taylor (1817–80), who had trained as a lawyer, was a contributor to *Punch* and part of Bradbury and Evans's stable of working journalists, and was also establishing himself as a dramatist.¹²⁹ Ten years younger than Webb Loudon, he had attempted to broaden the readership of the magazine and had argued within its

¹²³ *LCHA*, 1 (29 Dec 1849), 8.

¹²⁴ All but four are signed 'J.W.L.' See Shteir, *Cultivating Women*, p. 225.

¹²⁵ 'My Letter-Bag', *LCHA*, 1, 26 Jan 1850, opp. 70.

¹²⁶ The first subeditor was Percival Leigh, followed by Horace Mayhew.

¹²⁷ Robert L. Patten mentions 'the familiar problem of editorial interference' by Bradbury in relation to Dickens and the *Daily News*, in *Charles Dickens and His Publishers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 169. Other critics have suggested that Dickens abandoned the paper because he found more congenial work elsewhere.

¹²⁸ See Howe, p. 118.

¹²⁹ His first major success was a comedy, 'To Parents and Guardians' of 1846. Most of his comedies were written in the 1850s.

pages against Webb Loudon on women's education. He endorsed the new Queen's College, whilst she, attuned to the practical difficulties faced by young women in public spaces, supported education in the home through qualified governesses and masters. Taylor's radical support for women is, however, undermined by his misogyny in relation to the potential influence of the magazine: 'What we should most regret [...] would be the creation of a set of female sciolists, smatterers in petticoats'.¹³⁰ This is an indication perhaps of his opinion of both Webb Loudon's editorship and her readership. Indeed, one of Taylor's correspondents is less polite, referring to 'Mrs Loudon's slipslop' and questioning the point of women's magazines in principle: 'What have women done that that they may not read what men read? Or how are you to get them out of their baby-hood by filling them with pap?'¹³¹ These comments exemplify the hostility of elite culture towards the kinds of knowledge Webb Loudon was promulgating. However, she, like other women journalists before and after did not have access to the educational institutions open to the men of her class. Until 1849 there were no elite secondary schools for women in Britain (such as Rugby and Eton) and access to universities was extremely limited.¹³²

The publisher's' proposal, a response to the losses that the magazine was making, has several implications. It might be that they were more interested in the progress of Dickens's *Household Words*, launched in March 1850, and the myriad other journals they produced (including the *Month* [1851], and the *Field* [1852–53]), than in their project for female readers. The *Ladies' Companion* was one among a number of periodicals which the publishers launched around this time, in order to maximise their profits and maintain the most efficient use of their printing presses.

Replacing the editor seemed to Bradbury and Evans the easier option. However, the name of 'Mrs Loudon' remained important, because it was perceived by them as a powerful draw for a female audience. Webb Loudon turned down their offer after some prevarication. Professor Ansted and the other science writers were amongst her principle supporters as they had contributed to the magazine because they knew her;¹³³ they were not from the Bradbury and Evans stable of journalists. A number of women contributors offered her their support. With the consent of

¹³⁰ Signed 'T'. 'Talking about and Knowing', *LCHA*, 1 (26 Jan 1850), 64. 'Sciolist': 'a superficial pretender to knowledge' (*OED*).

¹³¹ Identity unknown. Possibly Henry Austin, a civil engineer who collaborated with Dickens in *Household Words* for sanitary improvements. Bodliean, MS Eng. Lett. D.396.2.

¹³² In London women were allowed to attend classes at Birkbeck College from 1832 but very few signed up. From 1848 they were officially welcomed to University College, but their presence is not recorded in large numbers until the 1860s. See Jaqueline Banerjee, 'The University of London and Women Students', <<http://www.victorianweb.org/history/education/ulondon/3.html>> [accessed 26 Nov 2012].

¹³³ See MS Agnes Loudon Diary: 10 February 1850. See also, Howe, p. 13 and Nickianne Moody, 'Gardening in Print: Profession, Instruction and Reform', *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies*, 5.2 (summer 2009), <www.ncgsjournal.com/issue52/moody.htm>.

Mary Cowden Clarke and Ann Marsh, Webb Loudon threatened to withhold their manuscript from publication if her editorship did not continue.¹³⁴ Following Taylor's resignation, she remained unopposed for the next three months. The termination of her contract at the end of May, however, was sudden, without explanation and gave her less than a month's notice.¹³⁵

The number for 29 June 1850 was the first that Webb Loudon did not edit and displays a new masthead (Figure 6.9). The simpler title, without the qualifying 'At Home and Abroad' has more punch. It might suggest a move away from domesticity and a withdrawal from colonial readership. The new title also diverts the reader's attention from the disappearance of the previous byline, 'Edited by Mrs Loudon, assisted by the most eminent writers and artists'. In contrast, in large print at the back of the magazine, named specialists 'Mademoiselle Devy' for fashion and H. Noel Humphreys, responsible for illustration, are mentioned. These changes indicate an alteration of focus and align the magazine more closely to the aristocratic ladies' periodical, with a concomitant emphasis on fashion and leisure. The process continued with the publication of just two more of Dr Solly's essays and the withdrawal of science as a core subject, despite assurances to the contrary.

The gender and name of Henry Fothergill Chorley (1808–72), the editor appointed to replace Webb Loudon, was not publicised. This might suggest reluctance on the part of the publishers to acknowledge the change to a male editor. Established as music critic for the *Athenaeum*, a more cosmopolitan and expensive weekly,¹³⁶ his appointment corresponds with the change in audience now sought by Bradbury and Evans. From 1 February 1851, just over six months after his appointment, the magazine ceased weekly publication and became a shilling monthly with a mix of coloured fiction and fashion plates in some numbers. Chorley's editorship ceased by mid 1851, and in August of that year the magazine dropped down in size to that of the *New Monthly Belle Assemblée* (and the *Ladies' Cabinet*) of 16 x 24 cm, losing its distinctive masthead and sharing its highly stylised fashion plates. By September 1851 Bradbury and Evans had sold the title to Rogerson and Tuxford. The former had been the printer of *Belle Assemblée*.¹³⁷ During 1852 the 'merged' magazine was circulated under both titles. At the same time, as Beetham has pointed out, the *Ladies' Companion* had become identical in content to the *Belle Assemblée*, though the completion of the process may have taken several months.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ See British Library, Bradbury Album, No. 7 (Safe List 47), 14 February 1850. In response the publishers threatened legal action.

¹³⁵ RL, SC, Newcastle, MS.175/13, 29 May 1850.

¹³⁶ Price 4d. (5d. stamped).

¹³⁷ Mrs Newton Crosland may have taken over as editor as she had been editor of the *Belle Assemblée* (Onslow, p. 238).

¹³⁸ See Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, p. 40. The *Belle Assemblée* featured an extra plate and section that went with it in February, but pagination was identical. By July its pagination and plates were identical. This complete assimilation may have taken place earlier in the year, from March onwards.



Fig. 6.9

Mrs Loudon's name has been removed from the masthead, *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad*, 2 (29 June, 1850) © The British Library Board. Shelfmark P.P. 5149. c

The market for periodicals was a volatile one. The brief existence of the weekly *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad* for just over a year, suggests that the new niche market that the publishers had hoped for was not yet ready for an illustrated weekly paper with a pedagogical remit. It was outlasted by *Eliza Cook's Journal* (1849–54) and *Home Circle* (1849–53) both cheaper weeklies that included women readers, but whose production values were of a different order and which were less expensive to produce.

The power of Webb Loudon's position suggested by her name on the masthead was limited because of her vulnerability in relation to her publishers as both freelance journalist and a woman operating in the public sphere. An unprotected widow, she was also without access to the educational and professional networks available to male journalists. Her appointments with Bradbury and Evans at Bouverie Street were frequently accompanied either by her sister-in-law, Jane Loudon, or her daughter. Within the pages of her paper her support of domestic ideology was cleft with contradictions stemming from her experience as orphan, wife, carer, widow, single mother and breadwinner. It might be that neither her middle-class readers nor the publishers were ready to accept her radical emphasis on the economic burden for single women that resulted from their confinement to the private sphere.¹³⁹

Despite the difficulties faced by a woman editor, Jane Webb Loudon ensured that the *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad* alerted its readers to their economic plight and to actions they might collectively take to improve it. For a six month period, her magazine empowered women to participate in visual, literary and scientific discourse as consumers and producers of middle-class culture. Webb Loudon, as editor, succeeded in providing a distinct alternative to the secular fiction and fashion-based monthlies, the Christian ladies' magazines and the cheap family weeklies. It might be that the magazine in this short period stands alone in an uneasy attempt to manage and disguise the magazine's educational remit without giving way entirely to what she may have considered to be the frivolity of fashion.

¹³⁹ There is an increase of emphasis in her editorials on the problems of women who have to work, after the first attempt to sack her in mid February. The *EWJ*, which dealt with these issues, was not a commercial success.

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Conclusion

This book has been a multidisciplinary study of publications by the Loudons in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. I began by considering the radical origins of the *Gardener's Magazine*. Several factors emerged. First, the combination of sacred and secular influences on John Loudon's discourse. Second, the re-figuring of the gardener as part of modernity through knowledge made possible by increased accessibility to the printed word. Third, the opposition from the Church and Tory press who endorsed the 'natural' social order embodied by Adam, ordained by God and defined by birthright. This was followed by an exploration of the form of the *Magazine* and of John Loudon's editorship. The inclusiveness of the journal exemplified by the openness of its discourse, the naming of contributors and the heterogeneous nature of the audience addressed, all contributed towards its longevity. Within its pages John Loudon promoted the figure of the gardener as a professional and as a transformer of landscape who was pivotal to the idea of the nation. His setting up or support for national projects such as garden libraries, parochial schools, the Thames Tunnel and the Douglas monument were elements of national discourse on gardens.

Through print media and landscape design John Loudon sought to cleanse urban spaces and make them accessible, enlightening and socially cohesive. The notion of the Gardenesque which he developed in the *Gardener's Magazine*, the *Arboretum* and in his designs for cemeteries represented a new aesthetic for the modern world based on scientific principles unfettered by history and ownership of property. The practice of the Gardenesque on the page promoted the professional status of women and of the graphic arts. John Loudon's promotion of 'public' parks and gardens at the same time as increasing Chartist protest in Britain's cities, constituted, perhaps, sectarian interest to divert working-class interests away from politics.

I examined the relations between text and image in the *Gardener's Magazine* and argued that the heterogeneity of images, the result of technological advances which John Loudon exploited, was a reflection, and product of, the diversity of the *Magazine's* reading audience. However, by the late 1830s the tensions amongst this diverse audience and its fragmentation, realised after the failure of the Reform Act of 1832 to extend the right to vote to the majority of working men, is, I suggest, revealed through the cacophony of images and texts (exemplified by the article on Cheshunt Cottage).

The multiple strands of discourse on gardens which characterised this selection of John Loudon's publications were much reduced after his death in 1843. As a result the politics of gardens, derived from its location in the land, generally disappear from public view. This was largely because of changes in categories of knowledge in the period. By the mid-nineteenth century, the design, purpose,

funding and management of public gardens, including cemeteries, were absorbed into the workings of local and national government. Discourse of the science of horticulture entered into academic journals of agricultural and horticultural science, as well as horticultural newspapers, exemplified by the *Gardener's Chronicle*. Gardens in the private sphere, an important element of the discourse of the *Magazine*, became a feature of domestic ideology promoted by John Loudon, particularly in the *Suburban Gardener*, that addressed mainly female readers.

The publications of both John Loudon and Jane Webb Loudon endorsed a scientific approach to horticulture, and women readers were offered ways to contribute to the development of science centred around gardens. Gardening was transformed from an activity located in nature to one that was quasi independent of nature and hence as 'artificial' as that of fashion and other aspects of consumer society. The development of taste in relation to man-made objects in both the *Gardener's Magazine* and the *Suburban Gardener* also provided women with channels for creativity and purchasing power which had previously been generally confined to a wealthy elite. I concluded that differences of class and gender written into the variety of forms taken by the publications of the Book Manufactory of Bayswater, were shaped by assumptions of reading audiences, whilst, at the same time contributing to them. Moreover, the greater stratification was symptomatic of the industrialisation of the book trade, which led to an increase in numbers of books produced, particularly at the bottom and middle-price range.

Webb Loudon was one of a number of women writers who helped to transform print media into an area in which women could operate as both producers and consumers. Despite the difficulties faced by a woman editor, she ensured that the *Ladies' Companion*, *At Home and Abroad* alerted its readers to their economic plight and to actions they might collectively take to improve it. For a six-month period her magazine empowered women to participate in visual, literary and scientific discourse as consumers and producers of middle-class culture. I conclude that, as editor, she succeeded in providing a distinct alternative to the secular fiction- and fashion-based monthlies, the Christian ladies' magazines and the cheap family weeklies.

Through close readings of individual texts the aim of this book has been to elucidate the contributions made by the Loudons to gardening and democratic discourse, and to notions of the public and private spheres. The serial nature of the Loudons' literary contribution and its discourse of inclusion contributed towards the democratisation of print. Despite press opposition to their publications, they developed a discourse of specialisation and the creation of a distinct and gendered middle-class readership.

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Illustrations are indicated in bold type.

Abbreviations: *Ency. Gdng* - *The Encyclopaedia of Gardening*; *GM*- *The Gardener's Magazine*; *JL* - Loudon, John Claudius; *JWL* - Webb Loudon, Jane

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